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MATERIALS

FOR

TRANSLATION INTO LATIN:

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY

AUGUSTUS GROTEFEND.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY THE

REV. H. H. ARNOLD, B.A.

AND EDITED (WITH NOTES AND EXCURSUSES FROM GROTEFEND)

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PREFACE.

THE following Exercise-book belongs to a class in which Germany is very rich, but of which Crombie's Gymnasium, and that portion of Mr. Kenrick's Exercises that is translated from Muretus, are, as far as I know, the only representatives among ourselves.

The original work, by the lamented Augustus Grotefend, consists of a volume of Exercises, with Notes, and an admirable Commentary in a separate volume, for the use of the teacher. I have thought it better, for various reasons, to increase the number of foot-notes from the Commentary, and print the Excursuses appended to it at the end of this volume: intending to use such of Grotefend's grammatical remarks as are here omitted, in the Second Part of my "PRACTICAL INTRODUCTION TO LATIN PROSE COMPOSITION."

For the translation of the Exercises from the German, I am indebted to my Uncle, the Rev. H. H. Arnold, already known to the Public as the translator of Döderlein's Abridgement of his celebrated work on Latin Synonymes, to which frequent reference is made in the following pages.

Before beginning the work, the student should master the Eighth Excursus, which is of great value, and the following—

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE POSITION OF WORDS.

"THE common rule, as given in Bröder's Grammar, that the word that has the tone must have the precedence, is untenable. A word can receive no prominence or emphasis from *precedence*, unless its being so placed is against the logical or usual order of the words: even the *last word* may be emphatic, if it be a word that does not usually stand in that place. Thus: *quæcunque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur.* How tame would the expression become, if the order were, *fortuna subeatur, quæcunque,* &c.! So, too, *amicum habeo neminem,* is stronger than *neminem amicum habeo.*

"The rule should be stated thus:—Let the word that is to be made prominent, be placed where it will appear isolated: the nature of the word determining whether this effect will be produced by its being placed before or after any other word or words.—In the proposition, *Si sapientia bonum virum facit,* there is no particular stress on *sapientia;* if such stress is required, this word must follow *bonum virum.*

"A verb placed between a substantive and its adjective adds emphasis to them both: *voluptatem percepi maximam.*

"This, however, is only *one consideration* out of several that should determine the order of words in a Latin sentence. Another is, the fondness of the language for the *periodical*

structure, in which the portions of a logical whole stand in the order of *thought*. Hence the principal thoughts should be connected as closely as possible. This end is attained partly by connecting particles *(nam, enim, itaque, igitur, &c.)*, which are used much more frequently than the corresponding particles in English; and partly by attention to this rule:— That a sentence should, when it is possible, begin with that word which has the closest connection with the preceding sentence. This is a main point, which deserves the translator's attentive consideration."

[It will be found that the typographical marks used in the work are calculated to give the student great assistance in determining this point. He will do well to endeavour to *account* for the position of words, and changes of construction, which these marks recommend.]

T. K. A.

LYNDON, Jan. 12, 1842.

EXPLANATION OF MARKS USED.

1. Words in *spaced* printing (thus : p r i n t i n g), but without any other mark, are not to be translated literally, but adapted to the Latin mode of expressing a similar notion. *Figurative* are to be turned into *proper* expressions.

2. ° indicates that the word or words that follow it in *spaced* printing, are to be omitted.

3. † indicates that the form of the verb or sentence to which it is prefixed, is to be altered, with reference to its connection with the other propositions. [e. g. by changing a *sentence* into a participial clause ; a principal into an accessory sentence.]

4. || means that the word or words in *spaced* printing, to which it is prefixed, are to stand at the head of the clause.

5. * before a proposition or period, indicates that the translator should point out its logical connection with what precedes by a *nam, enim, itaque, denique, quare, quo facto, quâ re cognitâ*, &c.

6. D. stands for Döderlein's Hand-book of Latin Synonymes (translated by the Rev. H. H. Arnold).

7. P. I. stands for the Practical Introduction to Latin Prose Composition (by the Editor of this Work).

8. Z. stands for Zumpt's Latin Grammar (translated by Kenrick).

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ERRATA ET ADDENDA.

Page 73, for *iter facere transire*, read *iter facere, transire.*

— 79, *for* ‖drove back, *read* †drove back.

— 121, *for* Mendelssohn, *read* Mendelsohn.

— — To note [4], on *debere*, add, "See note on *necesse est* in the Index."

— 125, To note [13], add, "See note in the Index."

MATERIALS

FOR

TRANSLATION INTO LATIN.

BOOK I.

Of the Natural State, Oldest Inhabitants, and Earliest History of Greece.

Section 1.

Greece is intersected[1] by many mountains, of which Olympus, Pindus, Pelion, Parnassus, and Helicon, are the most famed[2]. In the midst of these high mountains fruitful[3] valleys are interspersed[4]. The whole land is washed[5] on three sides[6] by the sea, ° and both from the numerous creeks, harbours, ° and friths, by which its shores are indented, and from the many islands of the surrounding sea[7], it is peculiarly well situated for navigation and commerce. Hence ° arose its early[8] intercourse with the East[9], the cradle[10] of the human race, and hence[11], for the most part, the early civilization of its inhabitants, and the high station they attained in moral and intellectual culture.

The provinces[12] of which, according to Strabo, Greece, properly so called, consisted, were the following:—Thessaly, Acarnania, Ætolia, Doris[13], Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, Attica, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, Elis, Achaia, and Arcadia. The last six[14] are in the Peloponnesus, a peninsula which is joined to the main-land by the Isthmus of Corinth. On the north,

Greece was bounded [15] by the kingdoms of Macedonia and Epirus. On the inhabitants ‖ of these °two kingdoms the Greeks imposed the name of Barbarians, that is, foreigners; a name [16] which °this people, from a sense of their pre-eminence in civilization [17], very freely lavished upon all [18] nations that were [19] not of Greek [20] origin.

[1] secare. [2] famâ reliquos superare. [3] SYN. ? [See D. fœcundus.] [4] mediæ jacent: *or*, hi—valles claudunt. [5] mari adlui; mari contineri; mare adtingere; spectare ad mare. [6] *pars*, not *latus*. [7] 'and from the multitude of creeks, harbours, and friths (see P. I. Difference of Idiom, 88.) and of surrounding islands.' [8] vetus. [9] terræ orientales. [10] 'which are deservedly considered the cradle.' SYN. ? [D. cunæ.] [11] 'whence it happened that the Greeks, in-very-early-times *(pridem)*, reached *(evĕhi ad)* the highest cultivation of heart and mind.' [12] 'Greece consisted———of the following provinces' *(partes: provincia* having a peculiar meaning). [13] Doris, &c. The acc. in *em* is the form used by the best prose writers. [14] quarum postremæ ad numerum sex. [15] was bounded. Use the active, *claudere*. [16] quo nomine——appellabant. [17] 'since they felt themselves to be superior to all in civilization.' [18] Use *quicunque*. [19] were. Use the *subjunct.*, as their not being of Greek origin was the feeling that induced *the Greeks* to impose the name. [20] Say, '*of their own race*.' *Suus* should be used, as the subj. refers the clause to the *mind of the Greeks*.

SECTION 2.

The earliest inhabitants of this land †lived in a savage state [1]; huts were their dwellings, fishing and hunting their occupation [2]; the flesh of the wild animals which they killed [3], and wild fruits, were their food; skins their clothing. Many small tribes [4] of huntsmen and shepherds were thinly spread over the land. The Pelasgi and Hellēnes were the most powerful ‖ among these °tribes. More than [5] eighteen hundred years before the Christian era [6], Inachus and Phoroneus reigned over the Pelasgi. Deucalion, the restorer of the human race after the great deluge [7] (called in mythology the flood of Ogўges), and his son Hellen, were the rulers of the Hellēnes. This [8] name was common not only to the Doric, Æolic, °and Ionic tribes, so called from Dorus, Æolus, °and Ion, the sons or successors of Hellen, but it

comprehended, in later periods of antiquity, all nations that could attest[9] their origin from Greek being their native language[10].

[1] like wild beasts. *instar.* G. [Better *ritu* or *more.* See P. I. 207.] [2] deditum esse alicui rei. [3] the flesh of the wild animals which they killed, *caro ferina.* wild, *silvestris.* were their food: use *vesci.* [4] familiæ. [5] P. I. 552, k.—Z. p. 313. *Note* 3. [6] 'before Christ born.' [7] ex illâ diluvie. [8] Hellenum nomine quum de principio———uterentur, mox eodem———appellati sunt. [9] Use *præ se ferre.* [10] Should *lingua* or *sermo* be used? [D. lingua.]

Section 3.

The Dorians, Æolians, and Ionians, were, however, distinguished from each other by separate dialects, or modifications of speech[1], which, through their writers, have come to our knowledge. Of more importance to History[2] are the hostile feelings of these tribes, particularly of the Dorians and Ionians; they were the source[3] of many sanguinary[4] wars, which [6]were carried on between the states of Sparta, or Lacedæmon, and of Athens, for pre-eminence in Greece, [6]and which ended in the subjugation[5] of the whole land by Philip, king of Macedonia.

The Dorians inhabited, at first, the mountainous tract of land which, after them, was called Doris; the Ionians chose Attica for their residence[6]; Elis and Arcadia were peopled by the Æolians. The Pelasgi, who, from their mode of life, could not brook a settled residence, coasted[7] the shores of Thrace, peopled the islands of the Greek seas, and founded the first colonies in Italy.

[1] ejusdem linguæ aliqua varietas. How should this '*or*' be translated? [P. I. 456, note a. Z. p. 215.] [2] 'if one looks to history, it appears of more importance *(majoris momenti)* that *(quod)* these tribes *(nationes)* entertained hostile feelings towards each other.' [3] inde ducenda (repetenda) sunt: eo referenda: inde originem trahunt. [4] Cruentus. [D. sanguis.] [5] in the subjugation of. This being virtually an abridged adverbial sentence, may be translated by the *abl. absol.* [6] [locum domicilio deligere: aliquo loco domicilium collocare, *or* sedem ac domicilium constituere: aliquo loco considere.] [7] coasted—peopled—founded. et—et—et.

SECTION 4.

In[1] the sixteenth century before the Christian era[2] colonies came from Egypt[3] into Greece, under Cecrops and Danaus; and from Phœnicia, under Cadmus. Cecrops settled in Attica, and built Athens; Danaus, in Argos. Cadmus founded Thebes, in Bœotia. Two hundred years later, Pelops, from Phrygia, appeared[4] in Argos, where his descendants[5] † united themselves with those[6] of Danaus, and formed[7] one people. These ° foreigners brought into Greece from their own countries[8], already somewhat further advanced in civilization[9], the knowledge of the ° mechanic arts[10], and, above all, the Phœnician alphabet[11]; on the other hand[12], they soon ° acquired and adopted[13] the language of ° their new country. Hieroglyphics[14], ° the most natural mode by which uncultivated people register[15] whatever they think worthy of remembrance[16], were gradually supplanted, as people perceived that thoughts could be made intelligible[17] by the characters of the alphabet; and, in consequence[18], the Greek language, in its complete state, was soon spread by means of written characters over the islands, and over the continent of Asia Minor, where Greek colonies were about this time planted. At the time of the Trojan war, which some authors place in the tenth, others in the twelfth, century before the birth of Christ, the language was already universal, and completely formed. Homer[19], who wrote[20] his immortal work shortly after[21] this great event, furnishes the most convincing proof ° of the high advancement of the Greek language at that time.

[1] Throw this sentence into the *active* form : *Cecrops——deduxerunt colonias.* [2] 'before Christ born.' [3] from Egypt—from Phœnicia. et—et. [4] not *apparere.* Alter the meaning to *landed*, or some such word : appellere, escendere, egredi. [5] cujus ibi posteri. [6] The pronoun *those* must here be translated by a substantive. [7] in unum populum coire : unius populi nomen sumere. [8] ex suâ quisque gente: *not* patriâ. [9] jam pridem aliquo modo culta ; jam pr. ad aliquam eruditionem provecta. [10] *artes*, *artificia*=*mechanic* arts : the *fine* arts being *ingenuæ, liberales, optimæ.*——and

above all: quum—tum maxime. [11] literæ, *or* literarum elementa. [12] on the other hand. Such particles as *consequently, therefore, and so, on the other hand*, &c., always indicate that the preceding sentence is, logically, *subordinated* to that which follows: a connection which the Latin language, which is partial to a *periodical* construction of sentences, often points out, *grammatically*, by the use of *ut—ita*. [The *ut*, of course, early in the preceding clause.] [13] usu adsuescere. [14] figurarum lineamenta. [15] tueri; ab oblivione defendere. [16] res memorabiles. [17] to make intelligible; *manifestare; edere*. [18] quo facto. [19] cujus quidem rei testem habemus, &c. [20] condere; when *write=compose*. [21] shortly after, &c. Turn this into an adverbial sentence of time (*paulo post quam*, &c.)

Section 5.

The Egyptian and Phrygian emigrants [1] brought the religion, the laws, the form of government, and the customs of their own countries [2] into Greece; and the Greeks gratefully [3] received into the number of their deities the benefactors of their nation; altars were erected, and offerings brought to the inventors or improvers of agriculture, to the deliverers [4] from ravenous beasts, or from robbers; the memory of heroes was celebrated (*act.*) by dances [5] and games, those essential attendants of sacred rites [6], and the religion of the Egyptians seemed to be ennobled under the climate of Greece. A firm belief in the existence [7] of the gods, and their immediate influence on the minds and actions of men, as well as on the [9] phenomena of nature, was evinced in the earliest times, and [8] the religion of the Greeks pervaded their laws, their form of government, and almost every act of civil life.

In about the twelfth century before the birth of Christ, the laws of Minos [9], king of Crete, were brought to Athens by Theseus. These laws, which Minos pretended to have received immediately from the hands of the gods, were the sources of Greek legislation. Upon them Lycurgus and Solon, the lawgivers of Sparta and Athens, founded the regulation of those states, and they served as a model [10] not only to Greece [11], but also to Rome [12], which received from Athens the famed laws of the twelve tables.

[1] coloni. [2] suæ quisque patriæ. [3] gratis animis. [4] [illegible] ai

to those who had delivered the country from ravenous beasts and robbers.' [5] chorea. [6] 'without which sacred rites *(sacra)* could not properly *(rite)* be performed.' [7] 'that there are gods, and that their influence on—— is very great, the men of the earliest times were firmly persuaded.' [See P. I. p. 291, and note z.] et esse Deos—et, &c. Have great influence: plurimum posse in; alicujus maximam esse vim in. [8] quare. [9] From here to the end of the section the style is very lax; let the student aim at condensing the expression of the thoughts without losing any essential part of them. The relat. clause ('which Minos pretended,' &c.) may follow the first mention of Minos. Upon them—may then be changed into—'from these sources both Lycurgus, &c.—derived *(deducere)*.' [10] exempla existere. [11] 'to the other states of Greece.' [12] 'to the Romans.'

SECTION 6.

The form of government[1], which passed over from the East into Greece, † bore at first, most probably[2], the character of all oriental governments[3]; °that is to say, it was monarchical[4]. But this form[5] was not adapted[6] for the people of Greece. We find kings, it is true[7], long before the Trojan war, if the[8] name can be applied to the leaders and chiefs in war of small tribes[9], or single communities[10]; but when their feuds were at an end, the inhabitants of each small city[11] lived under their own independent jurisdiction[12]. Not long after the Trojan war, the regal dignity was abolished °throughout all Greece, with the exception of Sparta. In Sparta, indeed, ‖this °dignity was retained[13]; but it was so limited, that it scarcely deserved the name, as we shall see in the history of the constitution[14] of the Lacedæmonian state. Greece was also divided into many small states, of which each had its own government. Often a whole state was found[15] in a single city with its territory[16], the produce[17] of which scarcely sufficed for the maintenance of its inhabitants; or, in a little island, as, for instance, Ithaca, the kingdom of Ulysses.

[1] imperia. [2] verisimile est. The verbs that are followed by the *acc.* and *infin.* are often inserted after the subject or object of the infinitive (or other dependent) clause. When this subject or object is a relative, and followed by a *quam, quantopere*, &c., it would be, in many cases, a positive fault to place the verb at the end of the sentence:—'ingenium quod *sentio* quam sit exiguum.'—

'quâ re *mirum est* quantopere moveatur animus.'—'quod *nescio* quid esse putem,' &c. [3] ad similitudinem imperiorum orientalium. [4] regius. [5] ea. [6] not to be adapted—alienum esse : parum convenire. [7] it is true—but ; quamvis—tamen. [8] tantus. [9] natio [D. gens]. [10] conventus. [11] civitates [D. gens] singulæ. Grotefend remarks, that *civitas* was never applied by the Romans to a city or state that had not a *republican* constitution. They speak of *civitates* in Gaul, Spain, Italy, among the Helvetii, &c., but not *in Asia*, where we hear of *regna* only. [12] magistratus. [13] quam quidem (dignitatem) quum retinerent, tamen usque eo restrinxere Spartani, ut, &c. 'This dignity' should begin the sentence, because it is the notion that connects it best with the preceding one. *Spartani* might, however, stand before (not so well after) *quum*. [Is there good authority for this use of *restringere*? Better *circumscribere* (circumscribere *prætorem*, Cic.), or *finire*, (finire *censuram*, Liv.)] [14] respublica. [15] contineri. [16] tantus ager, quantus. [17] proventus.

SECTION 7.

The manners of the foreigners who emigrated (*plup.*) into Greece, melted [1] away quite as quickly as their religion, their laws, and form of government [2], into the character of the natives; °and while [3] ‖ the latter (*rel.*) appropriated to themselves the several branches of knowledge introduced by the emigrants [4], the rudeness [5] of their own manners was lost [6]. Their happy climate [7], their games, which Homer describes to us as already [8] ancient customs, their banquets, their festivals, their traffic, and their wars, elevated [9] them, at an early period, to that [10] high state of civilization which we justly admire in them. Even in the heroic ages of antiquity, we observe the most beautiful examples of conjugal fidelity [11], of parental love, and a tender feeling of filial piety; reverence for age [12], a sacred regard to religion, hospitality, and every social virtue [13]. They were also animated by a vital belief in a state of future retribution [14], the surest curb [15] on irregular passion [16]; and we find ‖ this belief every where impressed upon the senses by their tragic poets [17].

[1] conformari. [2] respublicæ. [3] while—not *dum*, which marks a merely external connection of two objects in *time*; but *quum*, which marks a closer connection, as of a *cause* with its effect, &c. Excurs. ii. 13, *c*.

[4] illorum artes. [5] inhumanitas. [6] exuere. [7] mitissimum cœlum. [8] *jam*; or *ipse* (in agreement with Homer), which often *implies*, in this way, a notion of time. [9] evehere. [10] tantus. [11] 'in married-persons—in parents—in children—we observe a tender feeling of duty *(pietas)*.' [12] Join: *huc* accedebat verecundia senectutis, &c.

[13] omne genus humanitatis. [14] 'that rewards or punishments are distributed to all actions, according to the law of equity *(ex æquo)*.'

[15] The surest curb. Turn this into a relative sentence; 'by which—are curbed.' [16] libidines. [17] poetarum fabulis illustrari.

SECTION 8.

The early history[1] of the Greeks is so interwoven with fables, that it is impossible to separate truth from falsehood. Several facts, however, convince us of the early existence[2] of confederacies among the different[3] tribes for some fixed purpose.

† The northern regions of Thessaly were often disturbed[4] by the inroads of their rapacious neighbours. The princes of the land, summoned by Amphictyon[5], who reigned at Athens in the fourteenth century before the Christian era, assembled twice in the year, in the spring at Delphi, in the autumn at Thermopylæ; they combined for mutual protection, and received into their confederacy those people who promised[a] to obey their decrees for the time to come. Every city[6], ° every people, that had become a member of this confederacy, had the right, or[7] was under the obligation[8], to send[9] two[10] persons to the meeting[11], who were commissioned to manage ° affairs of religion and of the state. Whatever concerned the general welfare of Greece came ‖ before this council for discussion, and for decision. Offences[12] against religion, quarrels of the confederate states with each other, were corrected[13] or adjusted by the sentence of this assembly[14]. The Amphictyons[15] had the right to raise armies, and to punish those who would not submit to their decision. This confederacy flourished many centuries,

[a] Qui polliciti *essent* ('*such as promised*,' &c.: this promise being thus represented as the ground of their reception, existing *in the minds of those who received them*) or qui polliciti *erant*, (those who *actually did* so promise: which expresses the giving of the promise as a simple *historical* fact).

under the name of the Amphictyonic council, and we shall often have occasion to record, in the course of this history, ‖ the weight of its influence [16].

[1] res. [2] 'that there early existed *(esse).*' [3] Different—here, *singuli.* [4] Observe that this clause is the *ground* of what follows. [5] An improbable supposition. [6] *not* urbs *or* oppidum. Every—singuli. [7] aut. [8] officium est ut. [9] legare. [10] Should *two* be translated by *duo* or *bini?* Why? [11] ad illud consilium. [12] not *crimina*, which are only the *charges*, not the *criminal acts* themselves. [13] aut—aut. [14] Amphictyones. [15] iidem. [16] qui quantum valuerint.

Section 9.

It is probable [1] that the expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis, the famous combat of the confederate princes against Eteocles, king of Thebes, and even the war against Troy, were caused or ordered by the Amphictyons.

The expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis was undertaken by Jason, Admetus, and other Greek princes, in retaliation [2] of the frequent robberies which were committed by the Colchians on the coast [3] of Thessaly. In the harbour of Iolchos, the famous ship Argo, which gave name to the adventurers [4], was built, and a small fleet fitted out. At the call of their leaders the warlike youth issued forth from all the states of Greece, and we find as sharers [5] ‖ in this expedition [6], the fathers of those heroes who, in the following age, fought before Troy. The Argonauts † landed at Colchis. They robbed and plundered, according to the custom of the warriors of those times; they founded a colony on the shores of the Euxine Sea, and carried off [7] the daughter of the king of Colchis, Medea, notorious [8] for her crimes [9].

[1] 'By the authority or command *(sive auctoritate, sive jussu)* of the Amphictyons, it is probable that not only the Colchian expedition of the Argonauts was undertaken, but also that °celebrated (P. I. 381, *b*) war, to which many princes had bound themselves *(bellum conjungere*, Cic.) against Eteocles, king of Thebes, and even the war against Troy, was begun *(esse initum).*' [2] 'that they might revenge' *(ulcisci).* [3] See D. *ripa.* [Pars *oræ* est *litus*; retinentur flumina *ripis.*] [4] incerta fata quærentes. [5] socii. [6] cujus quidem expeditionis. [7] secum deportare, as they carried her off in *ships.* [8] famosus, *or* infamis. [9] May *crimen* be used? Give the reason for your decision. [See D. *delictum.*]

SECTION 10.

The war against Thebes is the first recorded[1] instance of a confederacy of the Greek princes against usurpation and injustice. Eteocles and Polynices, the sons of Œdipus, † succeeded their father on the throne of Thebes. They agreed to bear the sceptre by turns[2]. During the first year[3] ‖ Eteocles † reigned; °but he refused, at the expiration of the time agreed on, to give up the throne to his brother. *Polynices called his father-in-law, Adrastus, king of Argos, to his help; other princes entered into a confederacy, and marched, with their united armies, before Thebes. They † encamped in seven divisions[4] before[5] the seven gates of the city. The Thebans beat back the besiegers, but the two[6] hostile brothers, Eteocles and Polynices, fell by each other's hands.

[1] memoriâ proditum. [2] per vices annorum summam imperii tenere.
[3] The principal points in this Section are :—Eteocles refused to give up the throne.—Polynices called to his help.—Several princes were beaten back by the besiegers.—The hostile brothers fell. These must be the principal sentences, the others being thrown into the form of subordinate accessary sentences. [4] septena castra ponere. [5] ad.
[6] either °two or °hostile.

SECTION 11.

The king of Argos alone survived ‖ this bloody[1] fight; the other chiefs lay dead on the field of battle. He[2] besought a truce in order to bury the dead. The Thebans flatly † refused[3]; °but the Athenians, whose humanity on this occasion[4] history praises[5], constrained the hard hearts[6] of the Thebans to compliance[7]. Ten years later the sons of those leaders, who fell before Thebes, avenged the death of their fathers. They † besieged and took the city, slew many of its inhabitants, or carried them away captive. Those that were left, acknowledged the son of Polynices for their king. Æschylus, in his tragedy called "The Seven against Thebes[8],"

has transmitted || this event[9] to after ages. The second war against Thebes is called the war of the Epigŏni. These are the earliest records[10] of Grecian history.

[1] cruentus, *or* sanguineus ? [D. *sanguis.*] [2] ille. [3] 'when this *(quas quum)* the Thebans had refused, the Athenians, &c.' [4] hac datâ occasione. [5] prædicare. [6] crudeles animos. [7] de postulatis concedere. [8] quæ Septem contra Thebas inscribitur. [9] Res illa gesta. [10] earliest records—primordia.

BOOK II.

The Trojan War.

Section 1.

About twelve hundred years before the Christian era, Tyndareus[1], the father of the renowned twins, Castor and Pollux, and of the beautiful Helen[2], reigned in Sparta. As the two brothers were killed in a warlike enterprise, or, as the fable says[3], received into the seats[4] of the gods, Helen remained[5] sole[6] heiress of the kingdom. The abduction[7] of women † was, at that time, no uncommon thing in Greece, and Helen had already, in her earliest youth, been carried off by Theseus, king of Athens, but[8] restored to her father. Tyndareus bound the numerous suitors of his daughter by an oath, to maintain in his rights the husband whom she should choose. Helen chose Menelaus, the brother of Agamemnon, king of Argos, for her husband, who after the death of Tyndareus mounted the throne of Sparta. But the happiness[9] of the royal couple did not last long[9]. Menelaus travelled to Crete. During his absence Paris made his appearance[10], the son of Priam, king of Troy, the handsomest man of his times, and endowed with all the accomplishments[11] which have power to infatuate[12] the female heart. He † won[13] the affection[14] of the young queen; she[15] left her native land, and

fled ° with her seducer, and with her treasures [16], to Troy.

[1] res Lacedæmoniorum fuerunt penes. [2] 'of Helen, a woman of remarkable beauty.' [See D. *formosus.*] [3] ut est in fabulis. [4] spatia, sedes immortalium. [5] superstes fuit. [6] unus, for *unicus*, is generally used in the sense of *singularis, eximius.* [7] abduction—raptus. quum——tum Helena et ipsa. [8] sed eadem. [9] 'but the hope of a lasting happiness soon deceived || them' *(frustrari).* [10] *not* apparere. [11] virtutes *or* artes. [12] decipere ; pellicere. [13] Won. See D. *invenire.* [14] voluntas. [15] 'he moved her to leave *(partic.)* her native land—and fly.' leave. [See D. *relinquere.*] [16] *abl. absol.*

SECTION 2.

Upon this [1] Menelaus claimed the assistance of the Greek princes, according to the oath by which they had bound themselves to Tyndareus. Supported by the authority of his brother, Agamemnon king of Argos, Menelaus † invited [2] the princes to meet him at Ægium, the capital of Achaia, and brought them to a confederacy. The call to arms resounded throughout Greece, ° and Agamemnon, as the most powerful prince of the confederacy [3], was appointed to be its head [4], and commander-in-chief of the whole army. While the army was assembling [5], and the fleet fitting out at Aulis, a sea-port of Bœotia, Ulysses, king of Ithaca, and Menelaus, the injured husband [6] himself, undertook a solemn embassy to Troy, in order to claim restitution and satisfaction [7]. They returned without having attained their object [8]. Not only were they treated with contempt; there was even a proposal made [9] in the council of Troy to put them to death [10]. This new injury irritated the warlike minds of the confederates yet more [11]; but their departure was retarded by contrary winds. They † ascribed [12] this to the hostile influence of the tutelary gods of Troy; they † inquired of their soothsayers, by what offerings they might appease the anger of the gods; ° and the blood of Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, was required as a propitiation. This is the first instance of a human offering [13] in the history of the Greeks.

The king's daughter indeed [14], as some writers assert [15], was saved by an artifice, and conveyed to Tauris, to be priestess in the Temple of Diana; nevertheless, this account shows, that the Greeks, on very important occasions [16], offered up human victims.

[1] quo facto. [2] 'brought to a confederacy || the ° princes assembled at Ægium, &c.' [3] ut qui ceteros amplitudine superaret. [4] To appoint to be the head, and commander in chief,—*et fœderis principatum, et copiarum summum imperium deferre* (ad aliquem). [5] *dum*, indic. *present*. [P. I. p. 166, 509.] [6] 'whom the injury principally affected'—*ad aliquem proxime pertinere*. [7] to claim restitution and satisfaction—res repetere. [8] On the translation of '*without*,' see P. I. 363, *(c)*. object—*res*. [9] censere. [10] See D. *interficere*; or P. I. p. 97, 308. [11] magis etiam. [12] 'since they believed that this happened, because the gods of the Trojans were hostile *(infestus*, abl.), they received for answer, after they had inquired by what offerings they might appease *(expiare)* the wrath of the gods, that Iphigenia———must be offered to the enraged deities.' [13] exemplum humanæ hostiæ (*Flor.* i. 16. *Tac. Germ.* 9. *Plin. H. N.* viii. 22.); *or*, hominis in honorem Deorum oblati (if the offering was *accomplished*, mactati). [14] Tametsi vero—tamen. [15] ut nonnulli auctores sunt. [16] in causis gravioribus.

Section 3.

The winds || at last favoured their departure. Twelve hundred ships, each carrying [1] from fifty [2] to a hundred soldiers, conveyed the army to the coast of Troy. It consisted [3], according to Homer's account, of rather more than a hundred thousand men; * the youth from every part of Greece, with the single exception of Acarnania, which took no share in this war, were brought together || by this expedition. The landing [4] was purchased with much blood; for while the confederate Greeks were detained in the harbour of Aulis by contrary winds, the Trojans † had concluded alliances [5] with the neighbouring people of Thrace, Caria, Lycia, and the inhabitants of both shores of the Hellespont, and of the Propontis, and received assistance [6] from these barbarians.

[1] *not* quisque. Z. p. 72. § xxxi. A *ship* may be said, militibus *impleri*: a *soldiers*, navibus *imponi*. [2] What numerals should be used for *fifty* an

hundred? Z. p. 72. [3] 'it somewhat exceeded the number of 1000 men' (*paullo excedere*). [4] escensio non sine multâ cæde facta est. [5] fœdera. [6] auxilia obtinere.

SECTION 4.

Troy was a very important state[1] in Asia Minor, and [o]inhabited by a mixed population[2] of Greeks and Phrygians. Dardanus was the first monarch || of this state[3]; from him is derived the name of Dardani, which is frequently given by Homer to the Trojans. There was a quarrel of long standing[4] between the successors of Dardanus and the ancestors of Agamemnon; *Tantalus[5], Agamemnon's grandfather, had held in captivity Ganymedes, a Trojan prince, contrary to the law of nations; at a later period, Hercules, a scion[6] of the royal stock of Argos, demolished Troy, and put [o]its king, Laomedon, to death. Perhaps[7] even the emigration of Pelops from Phrygia to Argos was occasioned by the enmity between him and Dardanus, which was destined to end, after more than two hundred years, in the extermination[8] of the house of Agamemnon, and the destruction of Troy.

[1] 'the state (*res*) || of the Trojans was considerable' (*amplæ*). [2] Population—*nationes*. [3] Can *state* be translated *civitas*? See above, § 6, note 11. [4] There is a quarrel of long standing—vetus dissidium intercedit mihi cum aliquo. [5] The connexion is here too loose to suit the Latin idiom. Use *namque, enim, quippe*; or, still better, *propterea quod*. [6] Argivorum regum de stirpe oriundus. [7] 'and (*atque*) by the same enmity which——was *terminated* by——, Pelops himself was || perhaps (*haud scio an*) induced to emigrate.' [8] Abstract substantives of this kind are much less common in Latin than in English. They may generally be translated by participles. The extermination of the house of Agamemnon—*Agamemnonia extincta domus*. The destruction of Troy—*Troja eversa*.

SECTION 5.

In the midst of mutual hostilities and many engagements, [o]in which[1] at one time the Greeks, at another the Trojans, were conquerors[2], most of the leaders of the hostile armies[3] fell. The Greeks, who neither reckoned on the long duration of the siege, nor had provided[4] a sufficient store of victuals[5] for their army, plundered the unguarded[6] coasts of the

Ægean sea, and of the Hellespont, and demolished the towns which had [7] sent help to the Trojans, or were in subjection [8] to them; but these devastations [o] only irritated the Asiatic colonies to the highest degree [9], † and nine years elapsed [10] in the most obstinate conflicts.

[1] quum. [2] in which———were conquerors—vario marte. [3] utrimque. [4] providere aliquid. [5] res frumentaria. [6] apertus ; intutus. [7] aut—aut. [8] in fide esse. [9] adeo. [10] effluere. [*elabi* and *præterlabi*, which are commonly used by *Muretus*, *Ernesti*, &c., have no classical authority in this sense.]

Section 6.

In the tenth year of [o] this memorable war [1] the calamities of the Greeks seemed to have reached their height [2]. A fearful [3] pestilence [4] raged in their camp; a violent quarrel † arose between Agamemnon and Achilles, the bravest of the Grecian leaders. Achilles, with his Thessalians, withdrew from the army of the Greeks; the Trojans took advantage [5] || of the distress of their antagonists, attacked their camp, and were in most encounters conquerors [6]. In these straits [7], the leaders of the Greeks besought Achilles, with his warriors, to return. He flatly refused, but sent them his friend Patroclus, who † was killed by Hector, a son of Priam, in single combat. The death [8] of his beloved friend [9] † summoned the Thessalian hero [10] to avenge him; Hector fell [11] || by his sword, and with him the hope of Troy, which was now [a], either [12] by stratagem, or by the superior force [13] of the Greeks, subdued. The old [14] king, Priam, was slain at the foot of the altar, his sons slaughtered, his wife and daughters carried into slavery, the city burnt, and entirely demolished.

[1] Literally ; or, 'when the war had been protracted up to the tenth year.' [2] Græcorum calamitas tanta erat, ut nihil addi posse videretur. [3] dirus. [4] See D. *lues*. [5] abuti. [6] superiores præliis excedere.

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[a] *not* nunc.

[7] His tantis angustiis. [8] See D. *mors*. [9] amicissimi viri. [10] Thessalus ille fortissimus. A description of this kind, when not a title, (as *Rex, Consul*, &c.) is at least *not common*, without a demonstrative pronoun, *hic, ille*, &c. [11] Translate fell by the active, 'killed Hector.'—'With him fell the hope, &c.' [12] sive—sive. These particles are always to be used when the speaker does not choose to decide the question himself. [13] potestas major. [14] old. See D. *vetus*.

SECTION 7.

This [1] was the end of the famous Trojan war. The Greeks had attained their object [2]; their vengeance was satiated [3]; the treasures of Troy had become their booty; Menelaus was restored to the possession of his wife; but most of the leaders of the army had been slain; part [4] of the survivors, whose lot it was, after long absence, to return to the land of their fathers, found their dominions in the hands of hostile tribes; Agamemnon himself fell, through the domestic treason of his wife, Clytemnestra; they [5] had become strangers in their own homes, and within a few ages most of the reigning houses [6] that had brought the Trojan kingdom to ruins, were extinct. Princes and people (says the Scythian Anacharsis) should learn [7] || from this [8], that even victory is to be feared.

[1] This was the end. P. I. p. 119, note *m*. [2] quod voluerant. For *attain*, see D. *invenire*. [3] The Romans avoided changing the *subject*, whenever it was possible to do so. Hence 'the Greeks' must remain as the subject in these sentences also. *iram explere*. [4] *plerique*, or *nonnulli*; the former if you think the assertion true of the *majority*. [5] *omnes denique*. A nom. must here be expressed, as the *subject* is changed. The common rule that the "nominative of the personal pronouns is seldom expressed," is likely to mislead the pupil. He should be taught that the personal pronouns are not to be omitted, except when they represent the subject of the preceding sentence, or the principal object of discourse. [6] regum domus. [7] to say they should, &c. *jubere*. [8] From this—hinc.

BOOK III.

Lycurgus.

Section 1.

Greece offered, even to the age of Lycurgus, in the ninth century before the birth of Christ, a dark picture[1] of internal dissension. The cause indeed, or perhaps the consequence[2], ‖ of this was[3] for the most part the migrations[4] of the different tribes. But also the[5] small states into which the land was divided[6], though they were united by the ties of a common extraction, religion, language, and manners, nourished the germ of perpetual enmity[7], which seldom resting from exhaustion[8], often broke out[9], particularly between neighbouring states[10], the more fiercely. Written laws, the surest rule for the people, were not yet known; custom and precedent[11] were the flexible bonds between governors and the governed[12]. The thirst for conquest[13] was at that time, as in all subsequent ages, the most ruling passion; and[14] the example of states[o] in their intercourse with each other had its influence on their citizens; wealth and ambition engendered oppression[15] and poverty, so that almost every community and every city presented a melancholy state of dissension.

[1] facies, species:—misera domesticæ perturbationis species. [2] vel causæ, vel effectus. [3] quum—tum vero. [4] peregrinationes. [5] ille. [6] 'which had divided the land between themselves.' [7] odii igniculos ac semina jacere; dispergere. [8] virium defectio. *abl.* [9] exardescere. [10] confines. [11] mores majorum ritusque. [12] 'held the kings, together with their subjects *(subditi)*, joined by a weak chain.' [13] 'the desire of enlarging their boundaries had seized upon *(invadere)* the states'—terras expugnare, *or* fines propagare. [14] 'the citizens followed the example of their states.' [15] 'made men oppressors *(superbus)* and poor.' In this order the *last* word *(poor)* refers to the *first (wealth)*; and *oppressors* to *ambition*. This order, called by the grammar χιασμός, is a very common one.

SECTION 2.

While such was the state of things [1], Lycurgus, of the royal stock of the Heraclidæ, after the death of Polydectes, his brother, assumed the throne of Sparta. The widow of Polydectes † was pregnant [2]. Lycurgus immediately † abdicated the throne, and took upon him the title of Protector. ° When the queen had borne a son, Lycurgus took [3] the child into his arms, showed [4] it to the principal persons of the state, and said [5], "Spartans, to you a king is born!" The boy was named Charilaus, that is, the people's joy. This proof of his noble mind brought Lycurgus, indeed [6], great renown [7] among his countrymen [8], but as virtue is often exposed to hatred [9], to avoid the persecutions [10] of powerful enemies he † withdrew from Sparta. He † followed his inclination [11] to examine the manners of foreign nations, ° and first betook himself to Crete [12]. † This island, indeed, was governed according to the ancient laws of Minos [13], but since the Trojan war they no longer possessed that authority which had before distinguished them.

[1] quæ quum ita essent. [2] The widow of Polydectes was pregnant; Lycurgus abdicated —, and took —. Here the two first clauses are *logically* subordinated to the last; and also the first to the second. The two last may, however, be considered as *co-ordinated*. These considerations are to regulate their *grammatical* connection. See Excurs. viii. 3.
[3] natum puerum—suscepit. [4] partic. [5] inquit.
[6] indeed—but. This construction should generally be changed for a *periodical* structure of the sentences. *licet—tamen: ut—ita.* [7] 'by his nobleness of mind he obtained, indeed, popularity among his countrymen.' To obtain popularity—alicujus gratiam consequi; benevolentiam sibi conciliare, *or* colligere. [8] cives; populares. [9] invidia. [10] vexationes, *or* insidiæ. [11] ingenii voluntas: studium susceptum. [12] With the name of an island, however well known, *insula* is generally expressed.
[13] according to the ancient laws—they possessed. When a substantive occurs in two clauses, it is always better to let it stand in the same case in both clauses, if possible; as the expression thus gains in precision, and the necessity of using a pronoun is avoided. 'Though *(quum)* the laws——were the rule of government *(norma imperii)*, yet they wanted that authority, &c.' [*See* D. carere.] *Or*, 'were not now *(non jam)* in that estimation.' Let 'laws of Minos' precede *quum*.

Section 3.

From Crete [1] Lycurgus went [2] to Egypt. Here [3] he became acquainted with the mysteries [4] of the Egyptian religion, and searched [5] with care into the constitution [6] of this ancient [7] kingdom. If we may believe ancient authors [8], he travelled through the kingdoms of the East, and penetrated even into India, to inquire into the doctrine of the Bramins [9]. On his return, he travelled through the Greek colonies in Asia Minor, which had at that time attained a high state of prosperity and civilization [10]: they far surpassed their former country in the arts of luxury [11]; and it is a tolerably complete proof [12], that they had also advanced further than the European Greeks in literature [13], †that they had carefully preserved the works of Homer, with which no man in all Greece [14] was acquainted. Lycurgus collected these inestimable works, arranged and copied them, and brought them to Sparta. The views of Lycurgus were evidently directed to this purpose [15], to re-establish in his own country the moderate spirit of the ancient state-policy [16] which had prevailed [17] in the heroic ages; †to restrain the oppression [18] by which the royal families of Atreus, Theseus, and Œdipus, had lost the thrones of their fathers, and thus to secure to his own family the throne of Lacedæmon.

[1] 'Thence.' [2] trajicere (in). [3] ibi et—et. [4] arcana. [5] *See* D. quærere. [6] Constitution—*res publica*, or *mores, et instituta, et leges*. *Mos*, a custom, the origin of which is unknown; *institutum*, an arbitrary direction, that has passed into a fixed rule; *lex*, a formal *law*. [7] *See* D. antiquus. [8] Not *auctor*. [9] Brachmanes. [10] Adapt Cicero's description of Antioch: "urbs copiosa, atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluens." [11] eæ artes quæ ad vitæ ornamenta pertinent. [12] 'and that they——had preserved, clearly proves.' [13] literæ. [14] *totâ Græciâ*: not *in* totâ Gr. The reason why *in* does not stand before *totus*, appears to be, that this preposition always denotes a *part* of some local space; whereas *totus* expresses *the whole*. So with expressions of *space* and *time*, the *in* is omitted when the *whole* space or time is meant. [15] manifeste id agebat Lycurgus, ut, &c. [16] legum ac morum antiqua modestia. [17] 'such as it (*ea*) had been.' [18] *abl. abs.* audacia, superbia.

SECTION 4.

At Miletus Lycurgus became acquainted with[1] the poet Thales, a man[2] of virtue[3], and of great abilities, whom[4], however, we must not confound with the famous sage of the same name, who flourished two hundred years later: he courted his friendship, and confided to him his project to give[5] a new constitution to his country. *Thales went to Sparta, and prepared, by means of poems suited to that great purpose, the minds of the Spartans for the change in their government and manners. Lycurgus was at length[6] summoned back to Sparta. Since his ten years' absence disorder and licence †had attained their height[7], °and the state stood in need of a strong ruling hand[8] to prevent its sinking into utter dissolution.

Lycurgus, who received the summons to his native country with rapture[9], went immediately to Delphi, in order to consult the oracle about his project. He had sense enough to see[10], that the sentence of the oracle, which had attained in Greece unbounded authority, would forward his views, and, in fact, he was received[11] by the Pythian priestess with expressions[12] of the highest reverence; the whole spirit[13] of his regulations †was approved of °by the oracle, °and it was promised him, that the commonwealth of Sparta would, through his laws, be prosperous and immortal.

[1] *here*—incidere in aliquem. [2] *not* vir. [3] *not* virtus. [4] quem tamen cave ne eundem esse existimes phil. ill. [5] 'of reforming the constitution'—renovandæ in patriâ suâ reipublicæ. [6] denique. [7] 'the greatest disorder——had introduced itself into *(invadere)* the state.' [8] 'the strong hand of a ruler' *(gubernator)*. [9] 'delighted by his country's call' *(vocatus)*. [10] 'for by his wisdom he perceived.' *Practical wisdom*—prudentia. [11] 'and he had not deceived himself, for the Pythia received, &c.' *(the same subject,* in the following propositions). [12] significatio. [13] universa ratio ; vis.

SECTION 5.

Relying upon this oracle, Lycurgus °immediately set foot upon his native soil. Here begins one of the most

memorable phenomena in the history of the world [1]; * we see a whole people undergo a change, in conformity to laws which banished [2] every sensual pleasure [3], curbed every [4] passion [5], and made all the joys and amenities of life [6] subordinate to [o] the welfare of the state. Great as was the idea [7] to plan such laws, and believe [o] in the possibility of their execution [8], equal courage and wisdom did it require [9], to propose them to a boisterous [10] people, and incline [11] them to their reception.

First, the form of government was remodelled. The hereditary dignity of the kings, of which, according to ancient custom, there were in Sparta two [12], was confirmed; but their power [13] was limited, and the reigning family may [a] perhaps have readily acquiesced in a measure which effectually preserved its existence [14]. Throughout the rest of Greece arbitrary power [15] had occasioned the abolition of the regal dignity, and in Sparta it was maintained only [16] by being limited. Obedience was incumbent on the people, as the first of duties [17]; but this duty the law [18] imposed, not the will [19] of the king.

[1] Ex eo inde tempore, quæ res est historiæ maxime memorabilis, universus populus, &c. [2] banished—curbed—made. imperf. subj. The *subj.* represents these effects, not historically and objectively, but *subjectively*, as conceived by the mind of the narrator. [3] *voluptas* is always *sensual pleasure*. [4] Every.—Here: *omnis*, not *quisque*. *Omnis* must be used when the *whole undivided* class is to be represented: *quisque*, on the other hand, means each individual contained in a class. Thus, we cannot say, '*quodque* animal mortale est,' but '*omne animal*:' and so *omnis* cannot be used, like *quisque*, with a genitive. [5] *libido*; not *animi perturbatio*. [6] vitæ jucunditates et ornamenta. [7] quanti ingenii erat——tanti, &c. [8] successum sperare; ratas fore arbitrari. [9] Require. P. I. p. 58, 191. [10] turbulentus. [11] permovere. [12] *not* duo. [13] arbitrium, auctoritas. [14] concedere rationi, quâ salva ipsa est constituta. [15] superbia. [16] duntaxat. [17] præcipuum officium. [18] *pl.* [19] auctoritas.

Section 6.

Lycurgus formed a council of [1] eight-and-twenty members [2], chosen from the most eminent families of Laconia, with whom

[a] 'perhaps, readily acquiesced.'

he privately deliberated on the means[3] of so managing political dissensions, that[4] neither despotism[5] on the part of the kings, nor insubordination[6] on the part of the people, should result from them. The rights of the nobility were firmly established, and from this class a senate was formed[7], which[8] discussed all affairs of government, before they were referred[9] to the assembly of the people. The kings presided in the senate. The dignity of the senators was hereditary ; but the age of sixty years was required, in order to be received into the senate[10]. This assembly was the highest court of justice in the state[11], and its judgments[12] were generally confirmed by the people, who placed an almost unlimited confidence in its wisdom. In order, however[13], to prevent the senate from assuming an ascendency[14] over the kings, and thereby appropriating to itself both the legislative and the executive power[15], Lycurgus appointed, under the name of Ephori, five[a] magistrates, whose office was annual. They were chosen by the people, and bound to watch the administration of government, and to maintain the spirit and vigour[16] of the constitution. They called meetings of the people, and dissolved [9]them. They exchanged[17] every month with the kings a solemn oath, by which the kings bound themselves to maintain the due execution of the Spartan laws[18], and the Ephori, in the name of the Spartan people, the hereditary dignity of the royal family of the Heraclidæ, to honour them as the ministers of religion, to obey them as judges in peace, and to follow them as leaders in war.

[1] *gen.* [2] 'men,' *viri.* [3] 'with which he deliberated by what means, &c.' *(rationes).* [4] ut ne aut—aut. On *ut ne*, see P. I. p. 28, note. [5] superbia. [6] importunitas. [7] legere.

[8] The use of the *sing.* or *plur.*, when one verb relates to more than one *subject*, is not optional. The sing. should be used—(1.) when the several subjects may be considered as forming *one* complex notion. "Mens et ratio et consilium in senibus *est*." Cic. Sen. 67. (2.) In *disjunctive* sentences, where, if one notion *is*, the other *is not*. And even when the notions do not *exclude* each other, the singular is generally used, *(partly——partly)*. (3.) When the subjects differ

[a] *quinque*, or *quini*?

in gender and number, the verb generally conforms itself to the nearest. [9] discussed—were referred. *subj.* To refer, *referre.* At *Rome*, rem deferre ad populum (for *decision*): rem referre ad senatum (for *decision*): *de re* referre ad senatum (for its *advice*). [10] ætate senatoriâ ante sexagesimum annum nemo erat. [11] 'the supreme judicial-power was in-the-hands-of *(penes)* this assembly' *(ordo)*. [12] auctoritas. [13] verum ne. [14] potestate superare. [15] 'the power of both enacting and executing laws.' [16] vis ac dignitas, *or* auctoritas (which is the *effect* of *dignitas*). [17] 'the Ephori and the kings were bound every month, by an oath mutually administered and taken, these that——those that, &c.' [18] legum sanctitati operam dare.

Section 7.

The share which the Lacedæmonian people held in the government was very limited[1], °and consisted in this; the city contained nine thousand free citizens, the Spartan territory thirty thousand; the whole kingdom of Lacedæmon consisted, ‖consequently, of nine-and-thirty thousand citizens possessing votes[2]. They could assemble only at the call of the Ephori; and it is obvious that such convocations, to which each man might come armed, would take place only on rare occasions. When, however, in consequence of weighty affairs this[3] happened, each proposition would be made by the Ephori, and be either approved[4] or rejected, with laconic brevity. The citizens at large[5] were, moreover, entirely excluded from all offices of state, and were considered as mere instruments[6] in the hands of the government, which the wiser part of the state must[7] °guide and employ.

[1] in modicâ parte reipublicæ constitutum esse. [2] qui suffragia ferebant. [3] quod quum. [4] approve—reject: aut jubere—aut antiquare. [5] plebs, *or* cives gregarii. [6] instar instrumenti esse. [7] debere.

Section 8.

In order, however, to compensate[1] the citizens at large for their exclusion from the offices of the state, and from an immediate share in the government, an equal distribution of all the lands in Laconia was decreed. The whole land, capable of cultivation, was divided into nine-and-thirty thousan

parts, [o] which with regard to produce [o] were equal. The pastures for the cattle were common. Lands were set aside for [2] the kings, and their produce destined [3] for the support of their families. As the greatest [4] part of the people were poor, and the possession of the land was found in the hands of the rich, the poor were gainers || by this measure [5], and at once [6] relieved from all uneasiness with regard to their maintenance; each lot was sufficient to maintain one family, in the frugal manner which Lycurgus introduced [7]. The rich received authority, and the exclusive possession of the dignities of the state, for the loss of their property, * while the poor were evidently placed in a better condition [8]. Lycurgus would, nevertheless, have scarcely been able to pass || this law, if there had not been some traces [9] still left in Sparta, of the common property in the produce of the harvest customary in the heroic ages of Greece. The sentence of the Delphic oracle, also, might have a decisive influence in the prosperous issue of this undertaking.

[1] 'but that the citizens at large might the less acutely feel *(minus ægre ferre)* the offices-of-state denied *(negatus)* to them, &c. [i. e. *the denial* to them of the offices-of-state].' [2] For. This word is never to be translated by *pro*, except where *contra* would express the opposite notion. Its fundamental notion '*before*,' '*in the place of*,' lies at the bottom of all its applications. *Regum in usum.* [3] 'whence their families might be supported' *(sustentare)*. [4] *not* maximus. Each of these clauses may be considered as, logically, subordinated to the other. See Excurs. viii. 3. [5] *quæ res* (the sentence must begin with these words, and the preceding clauses, which, as giving the grounds of the judgement, are prior to it in the order of thought, be here inserted) in commodum erat pauperum. [6] simul.—'who, since each lot, &c.—— were relieved.' [7] in tenuem victum illum quem Lycurgus familiis singulis præscripserat. [8] This proposition must be placed before the preceding one. meliori sorte uti. [9] 'traces of that custom which had prevailed in the heroic age, according to which the produce of the soil was common.' Some, aliqua.

SECTION 9.

The mere distribution of the lands would, nevertheless, have secured no permanent object, if Lycurgus had not at the same time abolished the use [1] of the precious metals,

gold and silver. These had long been the usual medium of exchange[2] in Sparta; but now coins of iron were substituted, made red hot[3] by fire, and then cooled[4] in vinegar, and thus unfitted for any other use.

The effect || of this regulation completely answered the expectation of the lawgiver[5]. The owners of great treasures willingly resigned them; they were partly converted to the adornment of the temples, and partly sent to Delphi, as consecrated gifts[6]. With these metals disappeared[7] from Sparta, covetousness, fraud, robbery, [0] and luxury; but at the same time all the arts that are concerned[8] in working them up for the embellishment of life[9]. The use of iron coins was long continued in Sparta, even when[10] Greece, long renowned for riches and luxury, was drawing near its fall[11]; it appears, however[12], that the Spartan government had, in case of need, the means of bribery in readiness[13], of which a striking instance occurs in the second Messenian war.

[1] abolish the use: nullius usus facere. rei usum tollere. [2] permutandis mercibus usui esse. [3] percandefacere. [4] restinguere.

[5] lawgiver, not *legislator*, which is not a general term for lawgiver, but always relates to particular cases. So *lator legis* is only the *author* or *proposer* of a law. Lycurgus may be here so called, if we suppose the law proposed by him to have been *passed* by the people. If not, a periphrasis must be used 'of him (of Lycurgus, of the celebrated person, &c.) who enacted the law.' leges *dare, facere, constituere, ponere, condere, scribere.* "The most celebrated lawgivers of all ages." *Omni tempore qui leges condiderunt, celeberrimi homines.* [6] 'to be suspended in honour of the god.' (Use the *relat.* pronoun.) [7] tolli.

[8] to be concerned,—versari in aliquâ re. [9] ad vitæ ornamenta.

[10] *quum*, with indic. perfect. Excurs. ii. 1, *b*. [11] ad interitum vocari.

[12] quanquam. [13] rem (opes) paratam habere.

Section 10.

The aim of Lycurgus was to form of Sparta a warlike state, and secure it against foreign attack. What[1] inducement could a land possess to a conqueror[2], where gold and silver, precious stones, and the other implements of wealth were not to be found? Who could hope[3] to subjugate

state, where every citizen being bred to war, had no other aim than to acquire distinction by personal prowess, and where every acquisition was despised, except that of public honour? Tillage [4] and the necessary [4] mechanic arts were carried on entirely by slaves [5]: the citizens constantly met together [6] for the purpose of keeping up religious and warlike games [7]. All took their meals together [8], after the ancient custom of the heroic ages: they supported themselves by the chase, trained themselves to the use of arms, broke their horses, frequented the public places of instruction, and were spectators and judges of the warlike games, which constituted the most important part of Spartan education.

Lycurgus had directed his particular attention | to education. Male children [9], who came into the world sickly, [9] and from whose youth and manhood, on account of their bodily structure [10], no strength could be expected, were exposed in a cavern on mount Taygetus: this [11] was looked upon as a punishment for their mothers [12], and it was believed that, by these means, the shortest way was found to relieve the state of a future burden. It is probable [13], however, that this law did not comprehend the children of the kings: they were brought up in their families.

[1] 'for how *(qui)* could a *(is)* land, which had neither gold, &c. attract the desire *of* a conqueror!' [2] conqueror. Substantives in *or*, *us*, *io*, formed from transitive verbs, are seldom used without an *object* expressed, or understood from the context. This, however, does not apply to words in *or*, that denote an *office* or *title* *(questor, dictator, gubernator*, &c.): nor to those in *us* and *io*, that have acquired a *concrete* meaning, which is the case with but few of them, *(panarium, quæstus, delectatio*, &c.) Hence *murderer, hypocrite*, &c. must not be translated by *interfector, simulator*, unless a genitive is expressed or obviously implied. *Victor* without an object is generally used *adjectively* (=victorious). [In his second edition, which I have followed, Grotefend directs *victor* to be used here: perhaps because the gen. '*of it*,' '*of the land in question*,' is implied.]

[3] 'and who *(qui tandem)* could hope that a state *(civitas)* could be subjugated, which, being wholly *(universus)* bred to war, made it its first *object*, that each man should win himself honour *(laus)* of his own *(proprius)*; and which held *every acquisition* dishonorable, except *general* estimation *(existimatio omnium)*.' To make a thing one's first object,—*id unum agere (ut)*. Begin with *quæ enim civitas*. [See P. I. p. 16, 30.] [4] agros,—artes colere.

[5] entirely by slaves—nemo nisi servus. [6] otia communiter

transigere aliquâ re. [7] ludus. [8] universi. [9] Male children, pueri. Qui pueri, *not* pueri qui. The first of these clauses being the *cause* of what is stated in the second, must be joined to it *subordinately;* not *co-ordinately* by '*and*.' See P. I. 476. Z. p. 346 (*b*). [10] Bodily structure, corpora. [11] The pronoun '*this*' must agree with *punishment*. Compare P. I. p. 119, note *m*. [12] puerpera; 'hac re, quam eandem pœnam puerperarum esse volebant, certissimâ uti videbantur, quâ, &c.' [13] It is probable—may be expressed in various ways: *verisimile est; non temere putare videmur; a vero plane non abhorret, si*, &c.

Section 11.

From earliest youth the Spartan boys were accustomed to plain fare[1], and the same clothing[2] winter and summer. They always went[3] bare-footed in every season of the year, and slept on a hard bed. In their seventh year they † were taken from the house of their parents, °and the state undertook the care of their education. Public buildings were destined to this purpose. They[4] were brought up to endure all hardships, to revere and obey the aged, and their superiors; to use a concise and distinct mode of speech; to reply quickly to questions: they were instructed in music[5] and drawing, in the history of renowned heroes, whose deeds they were excited to imitate; but particularly[6] in the most fatiguing operations of every sort[7], which might some day be necessary to their perfection as warriors. Hence they learned skilfully to evade dangers and gain advantages. Their exercises were public[8]; the oldest[9] citizens and the most eminent persons of the state were present[10], and to earn their praise, was the most ardent wish of the boys. *They were hardened, and made patient of bodily pain; they were scourged once a year at the altar of Diana, and the boy who stood the flagellation best, went away conqueror. It often happened that boys died under this cruel discipline without uttering a groan.

[1] tenuis victus. [2] *not* vestis. [3] *not* ire. [4] 'there they learnt both to endure hardships, and, &c.' [5] '(and) besides music, (*musicē*) &c.' [6] 'but especially they were exercised in.' [7] not *omnis generis*, which is barbarous; but difficillima quæque studia; *or*, omne genus difficillimorum

studiorum ; *or*, difficillima in omni genere studia. [8] *not* publicus, *and not* palam (which is opposed to *clam*). Perhaps, 'so that all might be admitted (to witness them).'—aditus patet omnibus. [9] natu quisque maximus.

[10] *Præsens esse* and *adesse* are not identical in meaning. *Adesse* denotes merely the *being together*, primarily in *space*, but also in *time*. It is sometimes found with *præsens:* e. g. Cic. Fin. i. 17. Off. i. 4. Tusc. iv. 7. Compare Ter. Ad. iii. 4, 29. *præsens ades.* Plaut. Most. v. 1, 27. *adsum præsens præsenti tibi.* But *præsens* (which is evidently allied to *præs, præsto*, and not to be considered a participle from *præesse*) denotes the relation of *immediate connection*, arising from proximity in space or time ; the *immediate influence* which the presence of one thing has upon another. Thus, e. g. *præsens* auxilium is a help which is not separated by any interval of time from the danger against which it is afforded : *præsens* agere cum aliquo, in *person*, not by *letter*, or through an *intermediate* person.—Me *præsente* hoc fecit, would imply that I was in some way concerned in the action, whereas quum ego *adessem* would simply denote my presence, which might be quite accidental and unimportant. Te *præsente* dixi would imply, that you *heard* me, which would not be necessarily implied by *quum tu adesses.* So when Cicero opposes the *præsens*, quodque *adest*, to the *præteritum* aut *futurum*, he wishes to intimate not merely proximity in time, but also the *immediate* perception of the object by the senses. [See D. *adesse.*]

SECTION 12.

In adolescence [1] the training was still more severe, and the gymnastic exercises more fatiguing. All [2] the passions which are developed at this age, were kept under by warlike exercises, protracted to the highest degree of weariness, and in which mortal wounds were not unfrequently inflicted. Their education lasted even to the thirtieth year; at which time they were called to military service, if the state was at war; otherwise they married, and ranked as citizens. The obligation to military service lasted till their sixtieth year.

The Spartan virgins also were brought up on a very austere plan. They were || not instructed in the usual labours [3] of the female sex, which were even forbidden them; but in the manly occupations [4] of racing, wrestling, throwing at a mark [5], and even the use of arms was not strange to them [6], of which history affords more than one example. Before the twentieth year they were not allowed to marry. Such an education must necessarily [7] bring their minds in accord with the aim of Lycurgus. The Spartan women could boast, that they brought men into the world, and they exulted when they

lost their sons in fighting for their country: according to their[8] persuasion, the highest end of their existence was thus attained.

[1] Adolescentium durior etiam disciplina. *Etiam* follows comparatives. Tacitus is the first author who uses *adhuc*. [2] *not* omnes qui. [3] opus. [4] studia. [5] discus *or* jaculatus. [6] non abhorrere ab. [7] non posse non; fieri non posse quin. [8] 'of whom they were firmly persuaded (P. I. 291, z.) that they had thus attained, &c.' [D. invenire.]

Section 13.

The military regulations of the Lacedæmonians were models[1]; they surpassed in this respect all the states of Greece, and maintained this distinction for several centuries. The youth, who from earliest childhood had been imbued with the determination[2] to defend his country, and in its defence either to conquer or die, went forth as a man[3] with full strength[4] to battle. Courage[5] was the first of virtues; cowardice the most infamous of crimes[6], as being most pregnant with danger[a] to the welfare of the state.

The weapons of the Spartans were, a short and heavy two-edged sword, adapted[7] for cutting and thrusting, and the spear. They were clad in armour from head to foot[8]; from their shoulders hung a scarlet cloak[9]. They bore on their left arm a brazen shield of a circular form. The shield was marked with the initial letter[10] of the word Lacedæmon. Every warrior had also a separate mark scored[11] on his shield, by which he was distinguished[12] from every other. Whoever did not bring back his shield from battle was held infamous. Thus were the infantry, the main strength of the Spartan forces, armed. They were reluctant[13] to serve on horseback, and if[14] their cavalry sometimes gained advantages[15], it was usually with the co-operation of the infantry, seldom by themselves. They were employed to watch the enemy rather than in fighting. In their military expeditions

[a] *Not* periculosus.

they were led by the king, who was always surrounded by a band [16] of chosen warriors. Their number consisted of six hundred men, called Sciritæ [b]. It was a sacred law, that the army should never march from Lacedæmon to the field of battle before the beginning of the full moon; from this cause, at the battle of Marathon, the first that was fought [17] in Greece against the Persians, there were no Spartans.

[1] 'The Lacedæmonians had admirably *(egregie)* regulated military affairs.' The *active* form is to be preferred, that the subject may remain unchanged in the next sentence. [2] 'who——had learnt that it was his highest duty to defend his country.' [3] 'having reached manhood *(ætas virilis)*.' [4] adultis viribus. [5] Here, *fortitudo*. [6] *Not* scelus. [See D. delictum.] When '*crime*' is translated by *crimen*, it must be remembered that the real meaning of the word is *charge, accusation*. Hence one cannot say, '*nequitia* summum crimen erat,' but '*nequitiæ* summum crimen erat.' [7] idoneus. Cut. See D. verberare. Thrust, pungere. [8] erant et loricati et ocreati. [9] sagum. [10] primores literæ. [11] scalptum habebat. [12] A Roman would express this as a purpose: 'by which he might be distinguished.' [13] moleste ferre. [14] And if —quodsi quando. [15] superior abire; aliquid proficere in prælio. [16] cohors. [17] An apposition that in English precedes a relative clause, is generally inserted in that clause in Latin; e. g. 'The *celebrated commander* Epaminondas, in *whose* house Philip was brought up.' 'Epaminondas, cujus *celeberrimi imperatoris* in domo, &c.' So adjectives: 'the *immortal* glory which the Greeks achieved,'—'gloria quam *immortalem* Græci retulerunt.'

SECTION 14.

The army was followed by a multitude [1] of mechanics and slaves. The last were often armed; for though Lacedæmon could send out thirty thousand heavy-armed infantry, and fifteen hundred cavalry, yet at the great confederacy of all Greece [2] against the attack of Xerxes, she sent out not more [o] than ten thousand natives. It is true that, ‖ at the battle of Platæa, the Lacedæmonian army amounted to five-and-forty thousand men; but of them thirty-five thousand were taken [3] from the towns subject to Sparta, or from the slaves. It seems strange and contradictory that the slaves, who in Sparta were employed only in the hardest and most

[b] On the *Sciritæ*, see Müller's Dorians, vol. ii. p. 258, of the English transl., or Arnold's note on Thucyd. v. 67.

debasing labours[4], °and whose[5] lot was far worse than in the rest of Greece, should, nevertheless, be selected for military service.

Before the Lacedæmonians took part[6] in the distant[7] wars in Asia and Africa, campaigns were confined entirely to the summer. In the winter they went home, or, if they were besieging a town, they were quartered[8] in the towns and villages situated nearest to it. If they found no enemy in the field, they † laid waste the harvest in the hostile country, °and then returned.

[1] *Multitudo* is any great number; *copia*, a number, with *reference to the purpose for which they are to be used*. Hence *copia* (= *supply*) may always be used of *things* [why?], but not of *persons*, unless they are considered as *means* or *instruments*; e. g. *soldiers, generals*. Cic. Manl. *fortium virorum copia*.
[2] Use an adverbial sentence. bellum conjungere. [3] electi.
[4] operâ alicujus uti ad. [5] The '*and*' must not be translated, because the clauses are *subordinate*. It is not uncommon with the best Roman authors to refer several relative clauses to *one* substantive, even when the clauses are *not co-ordinate*. Thus, *Cic. Deiot.* 'literis, quarum exemplum legi, quas ad eum, &c.' *Man.* 2. 'equitibus Romanis, quorum magnæ res aguntur,——qui ad me——causam——detulerunt.' *Id.* c. 24. 'deos, qui huic loco præsident, qui omnium mentes——perspiciunt.' [6] Alter the sentences so that both may have the same subject. [7] longinquus. [8] *Here use* hibernare *or* hiberna habere.

Section 15.

We have here given a faint sketch[1] of the code of laws[2] which, under the name of the constitution of Lycurgus, was admired[3] by posterity, but never imitated. This man, gifted with undaunted courage, and a constancy never[4] to be wearied by personal injuries, executed[5] a plan, projected and matured with the greatest penetration and strongest judgment; and subsequent times justified[6] the response of the oracle, that in obeying the laws of Lycurgus Sparta should attain the highest degree of prosperity[7]. Yet, probably, the Pythian priestess and the priests at Delphi were determined °beforehand[8], by the considerable presents of Lycurgus, to give their approbation to whatever he undertook. For if we consider the condition of Spartans as men,

the intercourse of their government with other states [9], and lastly, the consequences which resulted from Spartan legislation, with respect to the advancement of civilization [10], these highly commended and idolized [11] regulations may appear [12] in a very different light.

[1] strictim tangere ; speciem rei adumbrare. [2] 'of the institutions on which L. founded the constitution (quibus rempublicam constituit), and which posterity, &c.' [3] *Say* 'always admired.' Where should the *antithetical* words *(always—never)* be placed ? [P. I. p. 7, 15, *b*.] [4] ne——quidem unquam. [5] 'with how great penetration——he had projected——these plans, with so great courage, &c.——he executed.' Begin with 'quas res quanto consilio, &c.' [6] verum, ratum facere. [7] quod ediderat oraculum, Spartanorum rempubl., si——obtemperarent,——futuram. [8] Beforehand. When this word cannot be expressed by a verb compounded with *præ*, it must be translated by a sentence of its own ; unless it can, as here, be omitted, as being sufficiently implied by the context. [9] rationibus uti cum aliquo. [10] humanitas. [11] ad cœlum usque laudibus elata. [12] diversâ specie videri ; diversum judicium ferre de.

BOOK IV.

The Battle of Thermopylæ [1].

SECTION 1.

WHILE [2] the Persian fleet was fighting with that of the Greeks near Artemisium, the narrow pass of Thermopylæ was forced by the Persians.

Leonidas, king of Sparta, had the command of the vanguard of the Greeks. His whole detachment consisted [3] of about seven thousand men, of which three hundred were Spartans, probably [4] the body-guard [5] which, according to ancient custom, attended the king. The rest were from Arcadia, Phocis, Orchomenus, and other allies from the Peloponnesus, and from the north of Greece: the Athenians were not present [6]. They [7] had guarded the pass near Anthela, and the heights, over which a foot-path led [8], which ran

down[9] to the town Alpenus. Scarcely † were these arrangements made, when the Persian army marched on Trachynia, and covered[10] the plain[11] with innumerable tents. On perceiving this[12], most of the Greek leaders † proposed to draw back to the Isthmus of Corinth, where the main army of the Greeks had fortified themselves. Leonidas † rejected this proposal, and couriers[13] were sent off to hasten the succours of the allies.

[1] Battle of Thermopylæ. The Latin language seldom joins one substantive to another by a preposition, except after a verbal substantive, retaining the construction of the verb from which it is derived (aditus *ad* portum, reditus *in* patriam). When examples of the kind are found after other substantives, there is probably always an adjective with them: *e. g.* 'summus erga vos amor;' 'vehemens in Catilinam oratio.' There are three ways of translating such phrases: (1.) By the *objective* genitive, provided the governing substantive comes from a verb that governs the accusative (amor *patriæ*; odium *inimicorum*; metus *Romanorum*). (2.) By retaining the preposition, but adding a participle for it to depend on (e. g. prœlium *ad* Cannas *commissum*). (3.) By changing the governed subject into an *adjective*, when this can be done without ambiguity: prœlium Cannense; oratio Catilinaria; but *not*, amor *paternus*, for 'love *of my father*;' oratio *Ciceroniana*, for 'a speech *against* Cicero.' [2] *dum*, with *pres. indic.* [3] *not* constare. [4] ni fallimur. [5] cohors ista prætoria. [6] *not* præsentem esse. [7] They. *Illi*, that it may not be referred to *the Athenians*. [8] semita transit jugum montis. [9] 'by which one descends'—*(imperson. pass.)* [10] quum progressus—— obtexit. *See* Excurs. ii. 1, *a*. Exc. viii. 3. [11] The plain,—*campus*, or *planities:* but the *physical* character of a district is generally described by *locus* with a suitable adjective; *e. g.* loca *campestria (plain)*; locus *depressus (a hollow)*; so, *locus paullo depressior*; *locus editus,—paullo editior,—superior,—declivis,—præruptus*; *loca aspera*, &c. [12] Quibus procul conspectis (prospectis). Leonidas——sent off. Arrange the passage from '*on perceiving*' to the end, as one period. [13] cursor.

Section 2.

Xerxes † thought it incredible that the Greeks would dare to make a stand against his immense army, ° and sent a °single horseman towards the pass. The Spartans ‖ on that day guarded the out-posts. The Persian horseman saw ‖ them combing their long hair[1], and adorning their heads for the impending battle; some † were exercising themselves in wrestling, and all were unconcerned[2] about the scout, who was so near that he could count them over at his

ease. He saw, however, only the three hundred Spartans, who were stationed [3] at the entrance of the pass. The rest were concealed, partly by the wall built across [4] the path by the Phocians, and partly by the shelter of the rocks. When this was told °the king, he [5] remained for some days quiet, in order to give the Greeks time [6] for reflection. He then [7] offered Leonidas the sovereignty of Greece. This °offer was rejected [8] with contempt. At last he † summoned Leonidas to surrender [9] arms; "Come yourself, and take [10] them," was the answer [11].

[1] promissi capilli. [2] unconcerned—securus de, *or* ab. In the poets and Tacitus with *gen.* The difference between *securus* (se, *without*; cura, *care, apprehension*) and *tutus* is well known. [3] consedisse. [4] ex transverso. [5] 'the king.' [6] occasionem dare. *Occasio* is the Greek καιρός. [7] *Dein.* See P. I. p. 155, note *w*. [8] repudiare. [9] summoned——to surrender. tradere——jubere. [10] *partic.* sumere. Change this into the *obliqua oratio*, using *ut*. See P. I. p. 147, (*c*) (3). [11] 'he received for answer'—*responsum tulit*.

SECTION 3.

Enraged ‖ at the resolute courage of the Spartans, Xerxes ordered the Medes to charge, °and commanded ‖ them [1] to take the men alive, and bring them [2] before him. The Greeks met [3] the enemy with deliberate courage [4]; the Medes advanced [5] with impetuous rage. Their foremost rank soon lay on the ground; those that followed, shared their fate. The Greeks, closely compacted [6], and with their spears stretched out, stood firm and impenetrable [7]. All attempts were fruitless; even [8] the sacred band, led on by Hydarnes, was with great loss beaten back. On the following [9] day the battle † was renewed [10] by the Greeks with the same advantage, °and Xerxes already despaired as to the possibility [11] of forcing the pass, when an inhabitant of the district, by name Ephialtes, offered [12] himself to conduct the Persians by the foot-path [13] over the mountains, to the rear [14] of the Greeks. Xerxes dispatched Hydarnes at night-fall; Ephialtes conducted the immortal band by the foot-path; at

break of day they came upon the Phocians, who had occupied the heights of the mountain. The Phocians drew back, and the Persians continued their march.

[1] *relative.* [2] captosque. [3] met—advanced. *infin. historicus.* [4] æquis animis : *or adj.* intrepidi. [5] impetum facere : procurrere. [6] densâ, *or* stipatâ phalange. [7] not *non rumpendi ;* for the participle in *dus* expresses *necessity*, and with a negative *fitness*, but never *simple possibility.* When '*can* be done,' may be translated by the participle in dus, '*may*' may always be substituted for '*can.*' Hence when '*may*' cannot be substituted for '*can,*' the participle in *dus* must *not* be used. The converse, however, of this does not always hold good ; for sometimes '*may*' denotes simple possibility. The notion of *possibility* or *capability* belongs to the adjective in *bilis.* Sometimes the participle of the perf. pass. may be used (as *invictus*, for *unconquerable*, *immotus*, for *immoveable*), which is, however, really the substitution of *another* notion, since we thus leave it to be inferred, that what we assert *did not* happen, *could* not happen. When neither of these ways will serve, there is nothing left for it, but to form a sentence with *posse.* [8] et ipse. [9] not *sequente*, but *postero* die. So ' the day before,' *proximus ;* and those before it, *superiores.* [10] not *continuare ;* which would imply that there was no *break ;* but *renovare*, *instaurare.* [*iterare*, Liv. vi. 32.] [11] diffidere fieri posse, ut. [12] perf. indic. [13] The abl. without a prepos. is used whenever a cause, manner, or instrument, is expressed. Hence *via*, *iter*, *pons*, *flumen*, *mare*, *terra*, *navis*, *equus*, &c., stand in the abl. when, and so far as, they may be considered as the *means* of a person's arrival. [14] *Tergum* (opposed to *frons*, *latus*). [See D. dorsum.]

Section 4.

Leonidas was informed by[1] a deserter of the march of the Persians, and immediately the sentinels[2] coming down from the heights, announced to him that the pass was surrounded. Leonidas ‖ now[3] conjured the leaders to reserve themselves for the better fortunes of their country[4]; °but declared, at the same time, that he[5], with his Spartans, would not abandon the post[6]. None but the Thespians and the Thebans remained; the rest drew off. On the following night the[a] small band °that was left, led on by °their high-spirited[7] prince, attacked the Persian camp. They †overthrew the out-guard, and forced their way even into the tent of the king, who had, °however, already fled. Upon this †they spread themselves among the tents that stood near, and made

[a] Pronoun.

a terrible slaughter. Consternation and confusion, °occasioned by the darkness of the night, †seized the Persians, °and they fell by each other's hands[8]. At last day †broke[9], they †saw the small number of their enemies; a hail-storm of arrows was showered upon the conquerors. Leonidas ‖fell. A terrible conflict arose for his body. The Spartans sank around the corpse of their king; but a few, retreating from the camp towards the pass, succeeded in taking the body with them. Once more[10] they drew up[11] on a hill near Anthela; but Hydarnes came upon their rear[12], and they fell under the arrows of the Persians. The Thespians shared the fate[13] of the Spartans; the Thebans surrendered to the Persians during the battle.

[1] *ex. Per* would imply that he was *sent*. [2] stationes.
[3] quo facto. [4] se conservatum velle. [5] P. I. p. 147, (*c*), (1).
[6] locus. [7] *superlat.* [8] ipsi suos.
[9] The first clause is here *subordinate* to the second, and both to the third, which must be indicated by the grammatical structure. [10] denuo.
[11] aciem instruere. [12] 'Hydarnes attacks them in the rear, and slays them by arrows shot against them.' [13] haud meliori fortunâ uti.

SECTION 5.

The death of Leonidas had more influence[1] on the Persians[2] and on the Greeks than the most brilliant victory. *The Persians, who[3] in the three days' conflict had lost °no less than twenty thousand men, and among them two brothers of their king, were astonished when they heard that there were in Sparta eight thousand citizens equal[4] in courage to the three hundred who had fallen: the Greeks saw in this noble sacrifice[5] of Leonidas a high instance of patriotism. Their love of fame, and ardent wish to imitate[6] this glorious example, raised[7] their souls to the highest degree of enthusiasm.

[1] movere animos. [2] et—et. [3] quum. [4] 'who equalled in courage those *(illi)* three hundred, &c. who-were-slain,' *(partic.) æquare animis.* [5] 'in this that *(quod)*——had sacrificed.'—pro patriâ mortem oppetere; se ad mortem offerre; vitam, *or* sanguinem profundere, &c.
[6] wish to imitate—æmulatio. [7] in summa studia incitare.

BOOK V.

Last Events of the Second Persian War.

Section 1.

After the retreat of the Persians, the first [1] care of the Greeks was to perform the vow which, when surrounded by the danger of subjugation, they had made [2] to their gods. The tenth part of the rich spoils which they had taken from the Persians, was religiously laid aside, and sent to Delphi, and the rest of the spoils divided among the generals and soldiers. The Olympic games, which † had been interrupted by the tumult of war, were || now [3] celebrated [4]. Themistocles, to whose wisdom and valour Greece owed her deliverance, was received || at this festival, by the assembled multitude [5], with every demonstration of grateful joy [6]. When he appeared, the whole assembly stood up to greet him [7] with joyful acclamations; he alone was the object of universal attention [8], and he reaped on that day, as he himself declared, the fruits of all his exertions. * His active [9] spirit soon incited him to new exploits. Many of the islands of the Ægean Sea had assisted the Persians with ships and troops; and, very probably, fear and gold were their motives [10]. Themistocles exacted || from these islands very great ° sums as fines; Andros alone resisted him. He † was not strong enough [11] ° to conquer || this ° island, and sailed back to Athens with the treasures taken from the other islands.

[1] præcipuus. [2] vota facere, suscipere; votis se obstringere, &c.—— to pay vows: solvere, per-, ex-, solvere. The whole clause, which when—— gods, may be translated,—*quæ ex servitutis periculo debebant.* [3] *not* nunc.

[4] *perf. indic.* The imperfect (besides its regular use as an imperfect) describes an action *continuing* at a past tense: if, however, the *continuance* of the action or state is not to be indicated, but simply its occurrence or existence,

the *perfect* should be used, no matter what time the action took up, or how long the state lasted: e. g. 'Cicero eo anno Consul *fuit*.' [5] spectantium multitudo. [6] summa studia. [7] 'all standing-up saluted him.' [8] omnium animos in se convertere. [9] strenuus, industrius. [See D. severitas.] [10] Connect this immediately with the preceding clause,—sive timore, sive auro adductæ. [11] non satis (*or* parum) opibus (classe, copiis, &c.) valere.

SECTION 2.

In the mean time the spring began. Mardonius † put his army in motion[1], °and invaded Bœotia. The rulers of Thebes, who were in confederacy with the Persians, ‖ advised °him † to win over the heads of the Greek republics by money, °and so involve[2] those states in dissensions, perhaps in civil war. Mardonius † did not follow[3] this advice. °He sent ‖ to the Athenians, Alexander, king of Macedonia, °a prince tributary[4] to the Persians. °Alexander's[5] forefathers were connected with the Athenians by the sacred[6] rights of hospitality; he could therefore rely upon a friendly reception. The Athenians honoured ‖ in him[7], not the ambassador of the Persians, but their own guest; his proposal, °however, was[8] not welcome. The Athenians † sent[9] a message to Sparta, °and informed °that state of Alexander's arrival. Upon this the Spartans sent an embassy to Athens. After ‖ this °embassy had arrived, the Archons summoned the people to a general assembly. * Alexander declared, that he was sent by Mardonius, who had a commission from the great king to announce to the Greeks that he would[10] forget former offences, reinstate them[11] in their dominions, rebuild their houses and temples, and receive them into the number of his allies; that they should, moreover, live entirely according to their own laws[12]. Such was the will of the king[13]. Alexander added[14], in the name of Mardonius: "What[15] infatuation drives you, ye Athenians, to carry on war against a[16] monarch, whom ye can never conquer, and against whom even all resistance is ineffectual[17]? Ye know the army of Xerxes, and its deeds. Ye know also

the force which is under my command; should you even conquer me, another army, equal to mine, stands in readiness. Renounce, then, the thought [18] of maintaining a conflict with the great king. Do not, then, plunder your own country, and plunge yourselves into the danger of being always on the march, always in fight [19]. Seize the offer of the king; be free, and our allies."

[1] castra movere. [2] implicare. [3] not to follow—repudiare; aspernari. [4] vectigalis. [5] 'who, since his forefathers were connected ——, might confidently expect that he would be kindly received.'—benigne excipere. [6] sanctus [See D. sacer.] *inviolable.* sacer, *consecrated,* or *devoted to the gods.* rights, jus, *sing.* [7] *not* in eo. 'honoured him not as *(ut)* the ambassador, &c.' *ut* = '*as being;*' '*as far as he was.*'—*tanquam* refers to the *degree:* '*so highly as.*' to honour—in honore habere. [8] This clause should have the same *subject* as the preceding one. proposal—rogatio. [9] *abl. abs.* [10] i. e. *was willing*—velle se. [11] eos. [12] suis legibus uti: *or,* suis ipsorum (which should be used when *suis* alone would cause an ambiguity); *imperf. subj.* [13] Remember that the narration is here *oblique.* [14] hæc addidit. [15] *What* in appeals of this kind is often translated by the interrogative pron. with *tantus:* quæ *tanta* dementia. drive—capere, impellere, invadere. [16] is. [17] 'whom you can *not only not* conquer, but not even resist.' non modo —— sed ne —— quidem: *or,* tantum abest, ut——ut ne——quidem. [Obs. non modo = non modo *non,* Z. 417.] [18] nolite sperare. [19] perpetuæ peregrinationis ac fugæ.

Section 3.

After Alexander had spoken in the name of Mardonius, he conjured the Athenians to follow his counsel. He reminded [1] them, that [2] his conduct had always deserved their friendship, and that he was worthy of their confidence. He would not have undertaken [3] such a commission, if he were not persuaded, that accepting his proposal would be attended with the greatest advantages to Athens. Their territory lay in the middle [4] between the parties at war; they would, consequently, always † have [5] °the theatre of war in their own land, °and thereby inevitably be levelled with the ground.

When Alexander had ended his speech, the Spartans immediately spoke [6] °thus: "They were sent [7] by their

republic to frustrate the measures[8] of the Barbarians, with whom, solely on account of Athens, they were involved in a bloody war. The Athenians alone were the cause of the war, which was spread over the whole of Greece; they would not now[9] abandon[10] their friends and allies, with whose assistance they had reason to be satisfied[11]; how would it be possible[12] to enter into alliance with the Barbarians, whose perfidy was notorious[13]? Sparta[14] felt a lively sorrow[15] for the destruction of their dwellings and of their crops; the confederates, as a body, were concerned to prevent the unhappy consequences ‖ of this destruction[16]; they had to provide for the support of the Athenian women and children, and to succour the weak and aged; they were ready even now to receive them as free guests in the Peloponnesus, and to maintain them as long as the war lasted, should[17] the Athenians again[18] be forced to expose their territory as a prize to hostile invasion.

[1] *not* monere. [2] 'that he, by his conduct *(mores)*, &c.' See P. I. p. 147, 460. [3] P. I. p. 144, 454. [4] medium interpositum esse. [5] quum——habituri essent. will inevitably, &c.—fieri non potest quin. [6] dicere, sententiam dicere: *loqui* denoting the language of common discourse, not a set speech. [7] *Sermo obliquus*. [8] consilia, rationes. [9] See Excurs. xii. [10] *not* relinquere. [See D.] [11] 'who by their assistance afforded them *(the Spartans)* had deserved their thanks.' [12] quî tandem . . . ? *with infin.* See P. I. p. 147, (*c*) (2). [13] notus. [14] *not* Sparta. [15] magnopere permoveri. [16] miseram cladem istius fortunæ prævenire. [17] This clause should be inserted after even now. [18] denuo, etiamnum.

SECTION 4.

Aristides, who was[1] at that time Archon, and presided in the assembly of the people, was the first to answer the king of Macedonia: "The Athenians[2] were sufficiently acquainted[3] with the power of the Persians; he might, however, have spared them the shame of contrasting it with the limited forces of the Greeks[4]. When their freedom was in danger, they would, to a man, resist[5] any power, however great.

Alexander might return, and tell [6] Mardonius, that as long as the sun held its yearly course in the heavens, the Athenians would make no peace with the Persians; but, trusting in their gods and heroes, whose temples and statues the tyrant had so insultingly [7] destroyed, would resist him even to the last man. And thou, Alexander, beware [8] never to come [9] to Athens again [10] with such a commission, lest thy shamelessness should make us forget that we are connected with thee by the sacred ties of hospitality." Aristides || then turned [11] to the ambassadors from Sparta: "That the Barbarians, and even that the country-people of Lacedæmon, should think us ready to enter into a treaty with the Persians, is in itself natural [12]; but as to you, ye citizens of Sparta, who have so long known the sentiments [13] of the Athenians, who have been eye-witnesses of our generous sacrifices [14] on so many occasions, such a supposition [15] does you no honour [16]."

[1] 'Aristides was then Archon, and *(idemque)* presided,——he first answered, &c.' P. I. Diff. 8. [2] Sermo obliquus. See P. I. p. 147. [3] noscere, *not* nosse. [4] 'that whereas *(quod)* he compared the limited forces of the Greeks with the Persians, he might have spared the Persians that shame.' ignominiâ aliquem non afficere. [5] *resistere*, to resist power and injustice: *reniti*, to resist duty and justice. to a man—ad internecionem usque.
[6] return and tell—referre; renunciare. See P. I. p. 147, (*c*) (3).
[7] *superlat.* [8] A transition of this kind, from oblique to direct discourse, is generally indicated by an inserted *inquit*. [9] ne——veneris.
[10] See D. iterum. [11] *Partic.* and then *inquit*. [12] 'suitable to the character of those *(isti)* men.' [13] voluntas. [14] 'what losses we have suffered *(jacturam facere)*.' [15] *Infin.* [16] pudori esse.

Section 5.

"All the possessions in the world, all the treasures of the great king, can || not ever move [1] us to become his allies, and betray the freedom of Greece. Our dwellings, the temples of our gods, and their statues, || are burnt in rubbish [2]; to avenge them is our duty. The Greeks are bound together by the same religion, the same origin and speech, and by

customs derived from their common ancestors: as long as an Athenian lives, he will never, of his own free will[3], make peace with the Persians. We thank[4] you for your offers with regard to our families, but we hope that we shall be able to provide for them ourselves, without being burdensome[5] to our confederates. All we now desire[6] is, that our army should immediately march forward; in all probability[7], the enemy, as soon as they shall find that we have rejected their offer[8], will attack our territory. We must make a stand[9] in Bœotia, before the enemy shall come[10] to Attica."

[1] 'will ever bring it to pass that we, &c.'—*id efficere, ut.* [2] ruderibus obruta. [3] 'unless compelled.' [4] 'that you offer our families your services *(officia)*, we thank you.' [5] 'without trouble to *(gen.)* our allies.' [6] 'we desire this one thing *(id unum)*.' [7] verendum est enim. [8] conditiones. [9] castra ponere. [10] 'shall have come.'

SECTION 6.

The event soon justified[1] the conjecture of Aristides; but[2] the Athenians were also soon convinced, that Sparta, which was at that time the head of the Peloponnesians, had shown[3] outwardly[4] much zeal for their country, while they were really actuated by the lowest selfishness[5]. The Spartans || were accustomed to remain true to their principles[6] only so long as it served their interest[7]. Within a few weeks[8] the Persians forced their way into Bœotia. The Athenians looked[9] in vain for the help so solemnly promised by the Spartans. Instead of[10] marching forward to the support of the Athenians in Bœotia, they kept within the Isthmus of Corinth, †fortified it with new bulwarks, °and believed themselves so safe °behind their entrenchments, that, unconcerned with regard to their confederates, they despised their reproaches, and left them to their fate.

[1] 'as Aristides had suspected, so the event *(res)* was.' [2] sed eodem vestigio: continuo. [3] ut—ita: *or* quum—nihilo minus. [4] outwardly—really: verbis—agendo, *or* re verâ: ore—animis. [5] suis commodis parere. [6] sibi constare. [7] utile esse; utilitati esse.

[8] non ita multorum dierum spatium: for the Romans reckoned not by *weeks*, but by days. [9] *infin. historicus.* [10] Instead of. See P. I. p. 173, 533, 534.

Section 7.

The Athenians, abandoned by Sparta, on whose faithful alliance they had relied, were ‖ now compelled[1] a second time to flee from their native land. Scarcely had the fugitives reached the island of Salamis, when the Persians marched into Attica. Mardonius ‖ once more[2] offered the Athenians peace on the terms before brought by Alexander; but when this high-spirited people, now bereft of all assistance, again rejected ‖ the proposal[3], whatever had been spared at the first invasion of the Persians, the remaining edifices, temples, and country-seats, were laid waste, and the few houses at Athens, which after the last destruction had been rebuilt, were demolished and burnt: the Athenians saw from the island of Salamis, the effects of this childish revengefulness[4]. *They †sent a new embassy to Sparta, °and with all the indignation which the betrayal of their confidence could dictate[5], reproached[6] their loitering confederates with their indifference[7] and lukewarmness. They contrasted[6] the proved patriotism[8] of Athens with the low treachery of Sparta, which, formerly the glory[9], was now[10] the shame, of Greece. They supported their spirited language with the threat[11], that as, without the help of the confederates, they were[10] too weak for resistance, they were disposed, out of revenge for the shameful desertion they had experienced, to make peace with the Persians. They might then show the Peloponnesians[12], that their entrenchments on the Isthmus would be but an indifferent protection, when[13] the landing of the Persians on the unguarded[14] coasts of the Peloponnesus should be supported by the fleet of Athens.

[1] 'fled compelled.' [2] etiam tunc. [3] *pron. relat.* [4] either literally, *puerilis* crudelitas; or *indigna.* [5] 'with as great indignation as betrayed confidence is wont to excite'—destituta fides. excite—

efficere ; movere ; injicere animis. [6] *infin. historicus.* [7] use an adject. with *animus.* [8] *here :* spectata voluntas. [9] glory—shame. decus—pudor. [10] *orat. obliqua.* [11] orationi minas addere. [12] 'the Peloponnesians might then see.' [13] 'when the Persians, supported ——should have landed.' [14] intutus ; patens.

SECTION 8.

On this the Spartans resolved to march to the field. Five thousand citizens [1], accompanied [2] by five-and-thirty thousand Helotes, were sent out, under the command of Pausanias. To them were added the warriors from the other states of the Greek peninsula; above twenty thousand heavily armed, and nearly thrice as many [3] with light arms [4]. On the other side of the Isthmus, Aristides joined || the army at the head of eight thousand Athenians, and a much greater number of their allies from Megara, Thespia, Platæa, Salamis, Eubœa, and Ægina. The whole army of the Greeks consisted [5] of a hundred and ten thousand men, of which forty thousand were heavy-armed soldiers, the strength of the army. Pausanias had the chief command; under him, Aristides commanded the Athenians, and the allies from the cities just named. The force of the enemy consisted [5] of three hundred thousand warriors, left behind by Xerxes, to which fifty thousand Macedonians, Thessalians, and other people, tributary to the Persians, were added.

[1] With respect to the position of the numerals, Cæsar is peculiar in nearly always placing the substantives before the numerals, or between the thousands and the number of the thousands : e. g. millia passuum x. *(nearly always) :* or, hominum circiter millia VI. Also, misit cohortes duas ; equites DCCC. &c. When *different* things are enumerated, it is customary with other writers also to place the numerals after the substantives. See, for instance, Liv. XXVI. 47.

[2] et, *or* cum, *or* quibus additi erant. [3] ter idem numerus.

[4] velitum ; levis armaturæ. [5] See Book iv. sect. 1, [3].

SECTION 9.

Mardonius had chosen Bœotia [1] °as the theatre of war, because the plains of that land were better adapted for cavalry than the hills of Attica; his camp stood on the left shore of

the Asopus, near Thebes. There he awaited the Greeks, of whose advance the inhabitants of Ægina had secretly[2] given him intelligence. He ordered, while the Greeks were on their march, a square space[3] to be surrounded by a deep moat, a strong wall, and wooden towers; the sides of it were nine hundred and fifty paces long[4]. There[5] the baggage was to be kept[6] during the battle, and in case of a retreat, this entrenchment was to receive the defeated army. When this work was finished, the army of the Greeks appeared[7], and encamped opposite the enemy, on the declivity[8] of Mount Cithæron.

[1] 'the plains of Bœotia——which he saw were, &c.' better adapted for cavalry—equitum cursibus æquior. [2] per proditionem. [3] locus quadratus. [4] in partes singulas——patens. [5] join this to the preceding clause: ut —— ; *or*, ubi——et quo. [6] in tuto esse. [7] *not* apparere. [8] locus declivis; molle fastigium.

Section 10.

In this position[1] both armies remained *(pres.)* several days, which, however, did not pass away in sluggish inactivity[2], but accurately showed the characters of the great masses of men that stood opposite each other[3]. The Phocians were, of all the inhabitants of Northern Greece, least disposed[4] to join the Persians; as, however, all the neighbouring states were compelled to furnish warriors against their own country, the Phocians also[5] furnished to the Persian army a thousand heavy-armed men, under the command of Harmocydes, one of their principal citizens. Scarcely had ‖the Phocians[6] been a few days united with the Persians, when Mardonius, who probably[7] wished to put their courage to the proof, or entertained suspicion of it, gave command that the Phocians should separate themselves from the army, and occupy a separate camp on the plain. This command † was executed[8]; °upon which the whole Persian cavalry advanced, and threatened to attack[9] the position[10] of the Phocians. Hermocydes ‖immediately † sounded[11] to arms. "See

ye these men," cried he, "they come to overwhelm ‖ us; let us die like Greeks [12], let us exert our utmost strength to resist them, and we shall not fall [13] ingloriously." The brave band quickly formed into a square, and stretched out their lances to receive the enemy. *The Persians, it is true, †shot off some arrows; and some of them †hurled their javelins °against the little fearless band, °but they ventured no attack. Mardonius †called them back, °and sent word to the Phocians, that they had shown themselves brave men, and might rely upon [14] his and the king's acknowledgment.

[1] tali modo collocati. [2] nec segnes interim, sed *(referred to* exercitus). In the middle of a Latin period no clause should occur which, like this, might terminate the sense. Besides this, we cannot well speak of *a day* as showing what was really shown by a *course of conduct* pursued on that day.
[3] 'so that the characters *(mores animique)* of so great a multitude on-either-side were sufficiently manifested.' On the tense that should follow the *præs. histor.* see P. I. p. 414, *b*. *Cæsar* nearly always prefers the *present:* others, as *Livy* and *Cicero*, the *imperfect*. [4] 'am little disposed to do a thing;' *invitus* aliquid facio. [5] et ipsi. [6] *pron. relat.* [7] sive *(partic. fut.)*——sive *(abl. abs.)* [8] 'after this was done.' [9] impetum minari. After collective nouns (1.) the plur. is *more common* than the singular after some substantives; as *pars, numerus, equitatus,* &c. (2.) *Less common* after others; as *populus, plebs, civitas, legio, cohors, classis,* &c. (3.) The plural is the more common when the collective noun represents the *active subject* of the proposition. And (4), especially (with the first-mentioned nouns, *nearly always*) when the predicate is at some distance from the subject. [10] statio.
[11] milites ad arma convocare. [12] 'we are Greeks; let us die.'
[13] *Fut. Exact.* Ingloriously; *adjective*. [14] sperare; *imperf. subj.*

SECTION 11.

The Greeks who were compelled to follow the Persian army, were not deficient, as we have seen in this instance, in courage; and the love of their country (by which, though often interrupted by the dissensions usual [1] among neighbours, they were united together by a common religion, customs, and speech, and frequently also by their religious adherence to the laws of hospitality) outweighed the force of a foreign yoke, which no people on the earth ever neglected to cast off, when a favourable opportunity offered [2].

[1] ut fit inter finitimos. [2] datâ occasione.

Section 12.

Several skirmishes, which, °however[1], turned out to the advantage of the Greeks, were the prelude[2] to the great events that were now impending. The warriors from Megara, three thousand hardy mountaineers[3], had their post in a place that was particularly exposed to the attacks of the Persian cavalry. They † desired, being in daily alarm, to be relieved[4]. The commander-in-chief, Pausanias, °turned to the army, and † asked, which division[5] would take upon themselves the post of the Megarians. All[6] declined this offer, under different pretexts. The Athenians alone, ever ready to maintain the first rank[7] in merit, offered, of their own accord, their services[8]. They had scarcely occupied this important[9] post, when they were attacked by the enemy's cavalry. They bravely † repelled ‖this attack; the commander of the Persians, Marsistes, fell under the spears of the Athenians; upon which[10] a fearful conflict arose about the body; the whole cavalry of the Persians attacked the band of the Athenians; but, being supported by a reinforcement, which was quickly sent from the main army, they remained in possession[11] of the body, which they carried about in a waggon, through the camp of the Greeks, as a spectacle[12]. The death of this commander, distinguished by rank and valour[13], spread[14] universal consternation and deep[15] sorrow in the Persian camp. The Greeks † held this to be a favourable prognostic.

[1] *however, therefore, also*, &c., are generally not translated after the relative.—*Bröder.* [2] præjudicia. Comp. Cæs. B. C. ii. 32. [3] 'The Megarians, to the number of three hundred, hardy men, as being *(quippe qui*, &c.) from mountainous districts *(gen.)*.' [4] mihi succeditur. [5] si qui numerus. [6] ceteri quidem. [7] principatum tueri. [8] From they desired to services is to be one period. services, *not* officia: transl. by a sentence. [9] magni momenti. [10] quo facto. [11] obtinere. [12] spectandum. [13] æque——ac. [14] 'By the death——consternation seized upon——.' [15] acerbus. [See D. dolor.]

SECTION 13.

They shifted their camp, however, for want of fresh water, and having prepared for action, drew off from the declivity of Mount Cithæron towards Platæa. The fountain of Gargaphia offered[1] them sufficient water, of which they were particularly in want; but they lost the path over Mount Cithæron, by which they conveyed their provisions. The Persians, also, immediately took possession || of this path, and so put the Greeks to no little embarrassment. Provisions failed, and, at the same time[2], there arose in the Greek army, in comparison with which the Persians were thrice as numerous[3], a contention[4] about the post[5] which the different people should occupy in battle. The Spartans occupied the right wing, for Sparta was still honoured and esteemed before all the states of Greece, and it had supplied the greatest number of troops to the army. The next place belonged to the Athenians, who occupied the left wing. This post[6] was claimed by the Tegeans[7], a band of three thousand men, held to be the bravest warriors of Arcadia. They[8] gloried[9] in the deeds of their ancestors, and maintained that the Athenians had no like deeds to exhibit; they left, however, the decision to the Lacedæmonians, with whom they had, in earlier times, so often conquered.

[1] This proposition is to be connected with the following one by *ubi ut——ita*. [2] insuper. [3] exercitus Persis ter numero minor. [4] See D. *disceptatio*. Choose the word that expresses a strife of *tongues*. [5] *not* de statione quam, &c.: *but* 'what post each nation should occupy.' [6] locus; not *hic*, but *is*. [7] Tegeatæ. [8] *Pron*. [9] gloried——maintained: *infin. histor*. 'that the Athenians could not exhibit (any) like these.'

SECTION 14.

Aristides rose || against this arrogant pretension[1]. "We are assembled[2] here," said he, "not to contend for precedence, but to fight against the Barbarians for the freedom of our country. Let the Tegeans glory in the deeds[3] of their

fathers; we also could mention the victory over the Thebans[4], the assistance afforded[5] to the Heraclidæ, the battle against the Amazons, and against the savages from Scythia and Macedonia. Our ancestors achieved by their prowess before Troy immortal glory; have we at all degenerated[6]? Let the battle of Marathon bear witness[7]. There[8] we alone, and without allies, maintained the general safety and glory of Greece, and obtained the victory over six-and-forty hostile nations. This single deed[9] gives us the right of precedence before the Tegeans. But this is not a time for dissension. Whatever post the Spartans assign[10] to us, we will maintain with honour. *The Lacedæmonians proclaimed with one voice: "The precedence belongs[11] to the Athenians." But a much more threatening danger was averted by the wisdom and moderation of Aristides. He detected an understanding[12] between the Persians and some Athenians of the first families, who had lost their possessions through the war. Eight partakers ||in this conspiracy[13] †were arrested; °but Aristides quickly released them[14]; two only he kept for further examination: these also[15] he saved from deserved punishment, for fear of causing a commotion in the army[16]. He sacrificed[17] justice to public safety.

[1] ob tantam injuriam indignabundus. [2] adesse. [3] my deeds,—res quas fortiter gessi. [4] 'the conquered Thebans.' [5] auxilium ferre. [6] pejores, deteriores fieri, *or* evadere. [7] testis est. [8] ubi. [9] quâ unâ re gestâ. to deserve the preference over a man, *jure præstare alicui*. [10] inire jubere. *fut. exact.* [11] *orat. obliq.* [12] conspiratio. [13] conjuratio. [14] ceteros. [15] et ipsi. [16] motus militibus injicitur. [17] *Use* potiorem habere.

Section 15.

In the mean time the Persians drew near. The Medes and Persians placed themselves opposite the Spartans; for they had experienced the valour of the Athenians in the battle at Marathon; the Thebans, noted for their rooted hatred of the Athenians, were placed, together with the Thessalians and

Macedonians, opposite the Athenians. When [1] the day of battle dawned, Pausanias changed the wings, but Mardonius, who perceived this [2] °alteration, immediately †changed the order of battle, and thereby compelled the Spartans, on the following day, to return to their position. Mardonius, who mistook [3] ‖ this °measure of the Spartans for cowardice, sent his cavalry against them, whom he ordered to harass [4] them with arrows and javelins. He succeeded in filling [5] up the fountain Gargaphia, and in intercepting [6] the provisions which were sent from the Peloponnesus to the Greek army. Pausanias determined, on this account, to change his position [7], if the enemy, during the day, should remain quiet [8]. On the following night the Greeks broke up their camp, and chose a new position nearer Platæa, in a place which was not favourable for the numerous cavalry of the enemy [9]; °to execute this design [10] they set themselves, after [11] midnight, in motion; but through one of those accidents, which human wisdom is unable [12] to prevent, their setting out [13] did not take place without great confusion. One part of the army took the way to Platæa, through fear of the Persian cavalry, and encamped [14] around a temple; a part of the Spartan army was altogether unwilling to abandon the camp, and the commander of this °division, Amompharetus, declared he would not flee before the Barbarians, and dishonour Sparta, but await the enemy on the spot [15]. This delayed the march of Pausanias; the day had already broken when he marched down the declivity of Cithæron. The Athenians marched through the plain.

[1] Use *quâ re cognitâ*, to point out that this was Pausanias's reason for changing the wings (*cornua mutare*). [2] 'which as soon as Mardonius perceived.' [3] ratus. [4] lacessere. [5] et—et. [6] intercludere. [7] aciem alio loco instruere. on this account,—quam ob rem. [8] Insert this clause in the preceding one. [9] magnus, quo hostis valebat, equitatus. [10] eo consilio. [11] de. [12] parum valere ad. Wisdom,—*not* sapientia. [See D. sapientia.] [13] profectio. [14] subsidere. [15] eodem loco.

Section 16.

When Mardonius received intelligence || of the decampment of the Greeks, he had no doubt that fear was the occasion of it[1]. In order to complete the victory[2], he commanded, in spite of the ill omens of the sacrifices, that his army † should cross the Asopus, °and attack the Greeks. The Persians and Medes threw themselves, with a wild shout and without order, on the Lacedæmonians, who, carefully covered by their shields, awaited the result[3] of their sacrifices. As long as || these were unfavourable, they quietly sustained the attack of the enemy; but when suddenly the signs became favourable[4], they immediately † formed their phalanx, °and advanced against the Persians. The latter bravely maintained the attack. Innumerable heaps † were slaughtered, °and their places supplied[5] by fresh troops. Mardonius signalized himself[6] by his boldness and heroic spirit. A thousand Persians, distinguished for birth and valour, were his attendants. He attacked the dense phalanx of the Lacedæmonians. As long as Mardonius[7] fought at the head of his army, the Persians did not give ground; but when he fell by the spear of Aeimnestus, the courage of his people sank, they fled in disorder; the flight of the Persians drew[8] after it the defeat of the rest of the army.

[1] 'that the Greeks had retreated through fear.' [2] quod supersit (or *-esset*) victoriæ perficere. [3] significatio. [4] The signs are favourable,—auspicia addicunt. [5] in alicujus locum succedere.

[6] At first sight one might be inclined to throw the following clause into a relative sentence, referred to *Mardonius*. 'Mardonius, *quem mille Persæ*, et nobilitate et virtute insignes, *comitabantur*, et ipse——excelluit.' But the Romans *seldom*, to say the least, used a relative sentence, when the assertion conveyed in it would not express some *nearer definition* of the subject to which it was to be attributed, but only some such circumstance as made it, in *effect* (though an adjective sentence in *form*), an *adverbial sentence*. Such notions they would rather express by a participle or *quum*. E. g. 'Cæsar, *who had exhorted his soldiers*, advanced against the enemy:' not *qui hortatus erat*, but *hortatus*, or *quum hortatus esset* (= *after exhorting*, &c.). 'Hannibal, *who wished to attack the Romans in their own country*,' &c.; not *qui vellet*, but *quum* vellet (= *since he wished*). But 'Cæsar, *who had conquered the whole of Gaul and the greatest generals of his tim*

could not conquer his own ambitious temper,' would be properly translated by *qui——vicit* (better *vicerit*) ; though *quum* (though) *vicisset* would also be correct. Compare Exc. viii. 5, *b* (at the end). On the other hand, when a notion does really convey some *nearer definition* of the substantive to which it is to be attributed, the construction with the relative is to be preferred to the use of a participle or a simple apposition. Translate 'a thousand Persians——attended ‖ Mardonius. He himself, distinguished above all by——, attacked——, &c.'

[7] qui donec ipse. [8] *Use* sequi.

SECTION 17.

They fled[1] into their fortified camp, pursued by the Lacedæmonians; but the latter could not surmount the deep ditches and the high walls, behind which the Barbarians defended themselves. The Tegeans also stormed in vain against the entrenchments of the enemy, till the Athenians came up. They had gained an easy victory over the allies of the Persians. Overwhelmed by the just reproaches of the Athenians, they quickly took to flight, which, under such circumstances, was less dishonourable than resistance. The Thebans alone persevered; but when some hundreds of their warriors were cut down, they fled into their city, that lay near. The Athenians †did not pursue[2] these °fugitives, °but flew[3] to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, and completed the glory of the day. They †broke through the hostile walls, °and rushed into the camp of the Barbarians. The Tegeans followed, and afterwards the Spartans. The high walls and towers, which were meant for the shelter of the Barbarians, were now their destruction. They prevented[4] their flight, and, as it seemed dangerous to make prisoners[5], the Greeks cut down their defenceless[6] enemies: out of three hundred thousand, if[7] we may believe Herodotus, scarcely three thousand escaped the sword[8] of the Greeks.

[1] The first half of this section should be re-arranged, with a view to avoid the too frequent change of the *subject*, and to give more of *unity* to the whole description, by pointing out the logical relation of the clauses by their grammatical structure. 'The Persians, the Lacedæmonians pursuing, fled into their fortified camp, to defend themselves behind *(propugnare ex)* their works. But

neither could the Lacedæmonians surmount *(superare)* the deep ditches and the high walls, nor did the Tegeans, assaulting the entrenchments, meet with any success (*proficere* with neut. pron.). At last the Athenians came up, after they had gained an easy victory over the auxiliary troops *(auxilia)* of the Persians. For they had driven them, overwhelmed *(perculsos)* by just reproaches, to a flight more honourable, [o]under these circumstances, than resistance *(in fugam impiâ pertinaciâ honestiorem convertere)*. Even the Thebans, though they held out more obstinately, after some hundreds *(aliquot centuriæ)* of their men were cut down *(abl. abs.)*, fled to their city that lay *(partic.)* near.'

[2] not to pursue,—*omittere*. [3] *pres.* [4] *not* prohibere. [5] quum non sine periculo captivos habere posse viderentur. [6] inermis. *Comp.* Tac. Hist. i. 7. [7] siquidem; fidem habere alicui. On *si*, see Excurs. i. [8] *ferrum*.

Section 18.

Artabazus, one[1] of the Persian generals, and commander of forty thousand[2] Persians, had always[3] reprobated the rash measures of Mardonius; he had even warned him against this battle, and in the Persian council of war he had maintained that Mardonius ought to return with the army to Thebes, that the Greeks would not long remain in the field[4], and that it would be easier to procure the victory by bribing[5] [o]the chiefs than by a battle: his counsel was not followed[6]. When he[7] saw that the battle was lost, he went back with the Parthians over the Asopus, and led them by rapid[8] marches to Byzantium; whence he crossed over into Asia. These troops only were saved; all the rest perished.

[1] *relat. sent.* [2] See Book v. sect. 8. note [1]. [3] quum——tum ejus ipsius pugnæ dissuasor,——contenderat. [4] in castris esse. [5] aurum. [6] *Use* displicere. [7] *Rel. pron.* [8] magnus.

Section 19.

The Greeks were now[1] delivered from the danger of subjugation; the booty, which they found in the camp of the Persians, was much more considerable than they had expected. Xerxes, in consequence of his precipitate retreat[2], had left behind the greatest part of whatever was valuable[3]. The tents of the noble Persians were furnished[4] with richly

embroidered[5] cushions, with tables and drinking-vessels of gold and silver, with ingeniously wrought[6] horse-trappings, and many implements of Asiatic pomp; together with these were many chests full of coined[7] gold, many horses and camels, and a great number of Persian women, the booty of the conquerors. From this time Persian money came into circulation[8], and continued so a long time after. Upon this occasion[9], as after the sea-fight at Salamis, the Greeks brought the tenth part of the booty as a consecrated gift to the gods[10]; the generals also received a tenth part[11]; separate gifts were set apart for Olympian Jupiter, for Delphic Apollo, for Isthmian Neptune, and for Athenian Minerva; also the [o]distinguished valour of particular warriors was rewarded; the rest of the booty was divided among the allies. With it came the germ of corruption[12] among the Greeks.

[1] quibus rebus gestis. [2] ut in præcipiti fugâ. [3] res pretiosissimas plerasque. [4] ornatus. [5] largiter acu pictus. [6] summo artificio factus. [7] signatus (*or* nummi aurei). [8] in usu esse cœpisse. [9] tum quoque; *not* nunc. [10] diis sacrare. [11] altera decuma. [12] prima semina mali.

SECTION 20.

In this battle ninety-nine Spartans, fifty-two Athenians, and sixteen Tegeans had fallen. It is evident[1], that this assertion relates only to the citizens of these cities, who served among the heavy-armed infantry[2]. The captives were treated with military honours; games were prepared, and orations delivered, not only to the glory of the dead, but to the incitement of the living. Near Platæa a triumphal monument was erected, on which the names of the nations that had shared in the glory of this day were engraven. Eleven days after this battle the conquerors marched before[3] Thebes; they demanded the surrender of the principal citizens, who had misled the inhabitants to submit to the Persians. The heads[4] of this party were either[5] delivered up

by the citizens, or surrendered of themselves, to avert the destruction of the city. They were brought all °in a body to Corinth, where they were sacrificed to the departed spirits [6] of the Greeks who had fallen at Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa.

[1] manifestum est——dici. [2] qui gravi armatu pedites militabant. [3] ad. [4] From here to the end, one period. [5] How should *either* ——*or* be here translated? [P. I. p. 145, note *a*.] [6] Manes. to sacrifice; *here*, mactare.

Section 21.

On the °same day on which [1] Greece achieved [2] her freedom at Platæa, the 22d of September [3], in the year 479 before the birth of Christ, a victory not less signal, and equally important in its consequences, was gained at Mycale, a promontory of Ionia.

The Persian ships [4] which had fled from the battle of Salamis towards the port of Phalerum [5], sailed to Cumæ, °a harbour on the coast of Æolia, where they passed the winter. The Greek fleet had suffered [6] so much in the skirmishes at Artemisium, and in the battle of Salamis, that it could not venture to pursue the enemy, who, notwithstanding their loss [7], were still [8] very [9] superior to the Greeks. Moreover, the season †was already far advanced [10], °and on account of the light structure [11] of their ships, it was dangerous, and almost impossible, to hold the sea [12] during the winter. The Greek fleet lay in the harbour before Ægina. At the approach of spring, Xanthippus was appointed on the part of Athens, and Leotychides on that of Sparta, as commanders ‖of this °fleet [13]. Several cities in Ionia secretly sent delegates, and implored [14] the assistance [15] of the European Greeks, for their brethren [16] in Asia, subjugated [17] by the Persians.

[1] quo die. [2] armis recuperare. [3] qui dies fuit a. d. &c. See P. I. p. 171, 528. [4] Ships may be *personified*, as in English. See Cæs. B. C. ii. 6, 25. [5] ad Phalerum navalia confugerant. [Comp. P. I. Diff. of Id. 71. p. 185.] [6] jacturam facere; detrimentum accipere. [Can

you use the first phrase? See D. under *damnum*.] [7] in tantâ clade. [8] nihilo minus. [9] facile. [10] admodum provectum esse. [11] levis structura; imbecillitas. [12] altum. [13] cui——præfecerant. [14] sent——and implored. Express the latter sentence as a *purpose*. [15] Transl. by a subordinate sentence: 'that the European Greeks would——, &c.' [16] fratres et consanguinei. [17] *rel. sent.* *In Asia* should be inserted in this clause.

SECTION 22.

The fleet was at length[1] under sail; the Persian fleet also † had left the harbour of Cumæ, ° and had sailed to Samos. The Samians † gave the Greeks intelligence ‖ of this, † who immediately directed their course to Samos, in order to end[2] the war by one ° decisive blow[3]. But the Persians † received intelligence[4] ‖ of the intentions of the Greeks, ° and being dejected by the remembrance of Salamis[5], they were unwilling to risk a new engagement by sea; ° they sailed to[6] the promontory of Mycale, † drew their ships on the strand, surrounded them with a strong wall, on the outside of which they formed palisades[7], ° and † for that purpose cut down even the fruit-trees of the neighbouring country[8]. The Greeks † sailed ‖ after them, and arrived at Mycale, when the fortifications were finished. The forces of the Persian fleet, forty thousand strong[9], under the chief command of Artaÿntes, were encamped on the coast. They were increased by the addition of sixty thousand Persians, led by Tigranes, into a formidable army. In hopes of a sure victory, they allowed the Greeks, who ‖ were scarcely five-and-twenty thousand strong[10], to land[11] without opposition[12], and to put themselves in battle-array.

[1] denique. ancoras tollere. [2] finem facere. [3] impetus. [4] nuntius affertur. [5] ex clade Salaminiâ abjectis animis. [6] tenere, *with* acc. Use *præs. hist.* [7] vallos defigere. [8] abl. abs.: *inserted.* in the neighbouring country,—in illis locis: in eâ vicinitate. [9] 'in number,'—*numero*. [10] 'of whom there scarcely were——.' [11] escensionem facere. [12] imperturbatus.

Section 23.

At this time a report ran through the Grecian army, that the Persians had been beaten by Pausanias at Platæa. It was said [1], that a herald's staff had been found on the shore. Probably the leaders of the Greeks sought by this report, designedly propagated, to animate the courage of their men [2]; the manifest [3] assistance of the gods might make the victory certain, and assuredly [4] the troops, in their present position [5], had no hope of deliverance, unless [6] they remained conquerors [7]. They had landed in sight of an enemy four times as numerous as themselves. This enemy was protected by strong fortifications; °if beaten, a retreat was left open to them through the narrow passes of the mountains of Mycale; the Greeks had in their rear [8] the sea, and before them the army of the enemy; they could ground no hope, except on the secret agreement [9] with their Asiatic brethren; the crisis [10] depended on their courage.

[1] erant qui dicerent. [2] suorum. [3] præsens. [4] omnino. [5] quâ tunc erant conditione. [6] nisi——non : *or*, ita demum——si, *or* ut. [7] superiores abire. [8] a tergo. before them,—a fronte. [9] occulta conspiratio. [10] discrimen.

Section 24.

The Spartans marched towards the mountains, in order to be in the rear of the enemy; the Athenians, with the allies from Corinth, Sicyon, and Trœzene, occupied the plain near the hostile camp, which they had already scaled, when [1] the Lacedæmonians † came up, °and completed the victory. The conjecture of Artabanus, who had counselled Xerxes not to incorporate the Asiatic Greeks with his army, was now confirmed [2]. * In the hour of greatest danger ‖ these, who formed very probably the most considerable [3] part of the Persian army, turned their weapons [4] against their oppressors [5]. The narrow passes of the mountains were

occupied by the Milesians. These prevented the retreat of the Persians, exposed[6] them to the pursuit of the Greeks, and at last even[7] fell upon the fugitives, who now being attacked[a] on all sides, were almost entirely cut to pieces. More °than forty thousand Persians, and among them Tigranes[8] their leader, fell ‖ in this bloody battle; the few who escaped death, fled to Sardis. Their ships, their camp, and an immense booty, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The ships were all burnt. The liberation of the Asiatic Greeks was the consequence ‖ of this victory; °the Greek cities[9] † shook off the dominion of the Persians, joined the general confederacy of the Greeks, and maintained their free government[10] till the fall of the Greek states.

[1] quum with *perf. indic.* Excurs. ii. 1. [2] ratum fieri.
[3] *comparat.* [4] signa conversa inferre. [5] domini; *not* oppressores.
[6] objicere. [7] ipsi. to fall upon,—præcipitare se in.
[8] 'with Tigranes.' [9] qui. [10] liberam rempublicam habere.

SECTION 25.

The immense treasures of the Persians brought into Greece an excess of riches hitherto unknown[1]; but in their train were spread those vices which usually spring up with them. Temperance and industry were gradually lost[2]; indolence[3], extravagant ostentation[4] in domestic life[4], and an unbridled propensity[5] to pleasure[6], stepped[7] ‖ into their place. In Athens the poorer citizens shared with the rich the honours of the state[8]. But this regulation[9], introduced by the wise Aristides[10], took[11] the poorer citizens from their shops, whereby they lost the time destined to procure a maintenance for their families; and[12] while the rich † revelled in affluence and luxury[13], the greatest part of the population suffered the most wretched indigence[14]. The laws of Solon were no longer[15] observed, and their place was supplied by dem-

[a] *Here,* circumventi.

agogues [16] from the lowest class of the people, who by their passionate [17] harangues persuaded the fickle multitude to measures most pernicious to the state. * After a short period of the highest glory, Athens sank from the elevated station which it had attained through the Persian war. Instead of a people maintaining freedom with enthusiasm, we soon see a dissolute and ignorant rabble [18], a corrupt and venal government, and all authority and power in the hands of the rich [19].

[1] 'unheard of up to that time *(inauditus).*' Riches is here an *abstract* notion: hence not *divitiæ*, but *opulentia.* [2] evanescere. [3] See D. *ignavia.* [4] profusa luxuries. *Say,* 'of domestic life.' *Sallust* or *Tacitus* would have expressed the thought in some such way as this: "*Temperantia, industria rara; contra ad laborem segnes esse, domi ultra quam par est magnifici, foris ad voluptatem proni.*" [5] libido. [6] *gen.* [7] succedere *(in locum).* [8] honorum ambitio concessa est; patere cœpit. [9] lex. [10] ab ipso Aristide, homine prudentissimo, &c. [11] 'by this regulation ——being called away——were deprived.' time,—otium. [12] itaque. [13] omnium rerum copiâ affluere, bonaque profusione perdere *(abl. abs.).* [14] See D. *paupertas.* [15] non jam; *or,* valere desierunt. [16] de infimâ plebe homines, qui auram captantes populi——permoverent. [17] *here,* turbulentus. [18] 'and the people which *(quique populus)* before had maintained its freedom with enthusiasm, became a dissolute and ignorant rabble *(vulgus dissolutum et iners).*' [19] 'the government *(respublica)* was corrupt; offices purchaseable *(venalis);* authority and power in the hands of *(penes)* the rich.' Power,—*amplitudo* (the *influence* derived from a *high office*). *Auctoritas* is a consequence of *dignitas* (internal or external *worth*), as far as this causes our wishes or example to influence others. *Potestas* arises from a man's *natural* or *conceded* rights (in *suam potestatem* redigere: *potestas* tribunicia: *potestatem* dicendi facere). *Potentia* is the *power* or *political influence* which a man has, by any means, won for himself: *opulentia,* that which arises from being richly furnished with *means* and *resources, opes.* Hence *opulentia* is stronger than *potentia,* as the latter may be the result of *but one* means, e. g. *eloquence.*

BOOK VI.

Philip, king of Macedonia.

Section 1.

While [1] the free states of Greece exhausted themselves [2] in contending [3] for the supremacy, a people grew up [4] near their frontiers, who never † took part in the confederacy of the Grecian states; who had often submitted their internal [5] affairs to the decision of the Athenians and Thebans, and who, though of Greek origin, † were behind the rest of the Greeks in civilization [6], °and therefore comprehended under the contemptuous appellation of Barbarians [7]. The origin of this people is lost [8] in those times when the descendants of Hercules were driven from the Peloponnesus. Among [9] them °was Caranus of Argos, °who with a small band of adventurers [a] went to Emathia, which afterwards received the name of Macedonia, and fixed his residence at Edessa. Surrounded by rude and uncultivated tribes ‖ this little Greek colony would soon have fallen [10] a prey to these Barbarians, if Caranus and his immediate successors [11] had not found means to win the attachment of their new neighbours, by instructing them in agriculture [12], by friendly services, and perhaps even by the adoption of their customs. The Greeks made these Barbarians also acquainted [13] with their manner of worshipping the gods; they † intermarried [14] with them, and formed, in the course of time, a single people [15], which did not indeed attain the same degree of civilization as the rest of the Greeks, but, through their knowledge of the Greek language, through the beneficial relations of com-

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[a] incerta fata quærentes.

merce, and even through the wars, in which they took part, maintained some claims to an honourable rank [16] among the nations bordering on Greece.

[1] *dum.* [2] vires exhaurire, profundere ; debilitari. [3] *partic.* [4] incrementa capere, adolescere. [5] domesticus. [6] 'since it had not equally advanced in civilization *(humanitatis incrementa capere).*' [7] contumeliose barbarorum loco habere. The phrase 'barbarorum loco habere' does not mean 'to *look upon* them *as if* they were Barbari,' but really to reckon them amongst the Barbari. [8] recedit ; redit. [9] ex. [10] futura videbatur. [11] A successor, qui proxime sequitur. [12] traditâ agri colendi scientiâ. [13] communicare aliquid cum aliquo. [14] connubia jungere. [15] in unum populum coire. [16] aliqua dignitas.

Section 2.

Even [1] at the time when [2] Xerxes led his immense army against Greece, Alexander, king of Macedonia, was, as we have already related, on terms of friendship with Athens, through the ties of hospitality, and evinced during this war a very honourable character. His successors, during the Peloponnesian war, were in alliance with Lacedæmon, and contributed essentially to the expulsion of the Athenians from Chalcis. But, if we except the six years' reign of Archelaus (from 416 to 410 B. C.), who encouraged [3] agriculture and the arts °of civilization, and both in war and peace fulfilled the duties of a wise prince, we find in the history of Macedonia, even to the period of which we are now treating, nothing but a series of murderous acts, and usurpations of the throne [4], which incessantly distracted the families of these kings. Amyntas, the father of Philip, at his death (in the year 370 B. C.) left three sons, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip. Alexander occupied the throne only one year; Perdiccas † succeeded || him, °but was dethroned by Pausanias, with the help of the Thracians. At this time, however, Iphicrates, the Athenian, † returned from his expedition against Amphipolis [5]. °He compelled Pausanias to restore the usurped throne to its lawful possessor [6]; but Perdiccas was yet a minor [7], and Ptolemy, a natural son of Amyntas,

openly contended for the throne. This usurper also was conquered by the Thebans under the command of Pelopidas, and in order to secure [8] the peace of Macedonia, °the Theban general [9] selected thirty Macedonian youths as hostages, and sent them to Thebes. Among these young men was Philip [10], the brother of the king, who from that time was brought up in the house [11] of Epaminondas, and received from this great general the rudiments of his education [12].

[1] Jam *or* ipse. [2] quum. Excurs. ii. 1, *b*. [3] et agrorum et artium culturæ operam dare. [4] cædes continuæ et principatûs spoliationes. [5] 'his expedition *undertaken* against Amphipolis.' See first remark on Book V. [6] cui debebat. [7] nondum suæ potestatis; parum adultâ ætate. [8] firmare. [9] qui. [10] et ipse Philippus. See Excurs. iii. [11] apud. [12] erudiri cœptus est; prima pueritiæ rudimenta deposuit. *Justin.*

SECTION 3.

Philip passed nearly ten years at Thebes, and was three-and-twenty years old, when being informed of the death of his brother Perdiccas, he secretly †left Thebes, °and returned to Macedonia. Perdiccas had been beaten in a battle against the Illyrians, with a loss of four thousand men. He himself fell [1] wounded into the hands of his enemies, and after a few days died of his wounds [2]. The position of Macedonia was extremely critical. *The Illyrians were on the point [3] of again invading Macedonia; the Pæonians, a neighbouring warlike tribe, under pretext [4] of °avenging ancient injuries, laid waste the northern frontier of Macedonia; two aspirants to the throne [5], Pausanias, supported by the Thracians, and Argæus, by the Athenians, were on the point [3] of seizing the throne of Macedonia. The position of °this kingdom was yet more difficult from Perdiccas having left a son, who was in the earliest years of childhood [6]. Philip [7] was at first ‖this °prince's guardian, but the people soon called him to the throne [8], on account of the dangers [9] that on all sides threatened the kingdom. An

oracle, moreover, had promised [10] the Macedonians the highest degree of power under one of the sons of Amyntas, and Philip was the only living and adult prince of that race [11]. He justified the confidence of his people; the Illyrians, the most formidable of his enemies, left Macedonia, to enjoy their booty at home; he induced the Pæonians and Thracians to retire by presents; °and ||to this purpose wisely applied the treasures which Perdiccas had left behind.

[1] *pluperf.* [2] graviter saucius obierat. [3] *not* in eo esse. [4] prætextu ; *or* prætexentes. [5] regni petitores. [6] infantem filium. [7] In these sentences, attend to the connection with the preceding sentence, and avoid a change of subject. [8] regem constituere. [9] 'since dangers——threatened.' [10] canere. [11] 'of *(ex)* that family *(stirps)* the only °one surviving, and also *(idem)* grown-up.'

Section 4.

In the mean time he disciplined his army, which he had collected out of the garrisons of the fortresses. His activity[1] and his engaging appearance[2] † gained for him the confidence of his army[3], °and at length he marched against Argæus, who, supported by three thousand Athenians, had encamped before Edessa, the capital of Macedonia. Argæus fell ||in the action, a great part of his army was cut to pieces, and the rest taken prisoners. Philip immediately †separated the prisoners; he made the Macedonians, who had followed the standard of Argæus, and [4] whom he now looked upon as his own subjects, swear the oath of allegiance [5]; and he released the Athenians without ransom [6]. This unaccustomed treatment of prisoners [7], who in those times expected no other lot than that of slavery [8], filled the Athenians [9] with grateful admiration. An embassy, which Philip sent to Athens, in order to make peace with that republic [10], was honorably received; an old treaty, entered into with Amyntas, was renewed, in which Philip renounced [11] the sovereignty over the city of Amphipolis, and granted it a free constitution [12]. This treaty so blinded the Athenian people, that they appeared

for several years entirely to overlook Philip's ambitious enterprises[13], and instead of checking[14] the conquests[15] of the Macedonian king, they allowed themselves to be led away by a disgraceful war against their allies.

[1] industria. [2] formæ jucunda quædam venustas. [3] militum animos sibi conciliare. [4] The '*and*' must not be translated. See above, Book III. sect. 14, note 5. [5] sacramento sibi jurando adigere; in sua verba jurare jubere. [6] nullo pretio. [7] de captivis agendi ratio. [8] 'could expect nothing but slavery.' [9] 'the minds of the Athenians.' [10] civitas. [11] se abdicare. [12] libera respublica. [13] 'the enterprises by which he endeavoured *(id agere ut)* to acquire for himself the sovereignty over all other states.' entirely to overlook,—ne animadvertere quidem. [14] See P. I. Diff. of Idiom, 116. [15] arma.

SECTION 5.

Philip †had begun his reign[1] with brilliant military achievements, and was incessantly occupied[2] in bringing his army to that perfection[3] which it afterwards so eminently displayed. He improved the arrangement[4] of the phalanx, long before introduced among the Greeks, provided great stores of arms and military implements[5], exercised his soldiers daily, and prepared them, during the short intervals of truce, for the hardships of war. Out of the noblest youths of Macedonia, he formed a band[6], whom he called his companions in arms[7]. They were fed at his table, and attended his person in war[8]. This was the seminary of those commanders who, in the great conflict with the Persians, led on the army of the Macedonians with such distinction[9], and who[10] at first conquered for Philip and Alexander, but, after the death of those kings, divided their conquests among themselves.

[1] auspicari. [2] id unum agere assidue. [3] virtus. [4] melius instruere. [5] reliquus belli apparatus. [6] cohortem conscribere; deligere. [7] satellites. [8] 'who should both eat with him *(secum)*, and accompany him in battle.' [9] virtus. [10] 'who, when they had first conquered countries for the kings Philip and Alexander, after their death, divided the conquered lands among themselves.'

Section 6.

While Philip was occupied[1] with restless[2] activity in establishing the tranquillity of his kingdom, and in training his army for defence[3] and attack, the warlike king of the Pæonians died. A pretext[4] for conquering ‖ this land †was soon[5] found; it was subjugated almost without resistance[6], and incorporated with Macedonia. The war against the Illyrians was more difficult; for this °people, led by an old experienced warrior, did not submit to the discretion of the conqueror, till Bardyllis, their prince, ninety years old[7], and with him seven thousand warriors, the flower of Illyria[8], had fallen. By this[9] victory Philip extended[10] his kingdom to the lake of Lychnidus, a short[11] distance from the Ionian Sea, and then[12] thought of opening a connection[13] with the sea towards the south, and thus[14] encircling the whole Greek confederacy as with a net. The city of Amphipolis[15] had, as we have already related, been declared free; but Philip, who was accustomed to keep treaties only when he drew advantages from them, knew the importance of this city, the possession of which would open to his kingdom a connection with the sea. The Athenians also † knew its value for their trade in Chalcis[16], and[17] with the Thracian Chersonesus, and they had not relinquished the view of[18] reconquering it, when Amphipolis joined[19] that powerful[20] confederacy, of which Olynthus was the head in Chalcis.

[1] Philip was occupied——died. These sentences are logically independent of each other. Hence it is better to divide them. 'Philip——was strengthening the affairs of his own country *(res domesticæ)*, &c.——In the mean while *(interea)* the king——died.' [2] summus. [3] *Use* bellum prohibere——inferre. tum—tum. [4] causam invenire. G. Better *reperire*. See D. invenire. causam reperire, confingere. [5] 'easily.' [6] 'without bloodshed;' 'without trouble:' *(nullo fere negotio)*. incorporated: *use* addere. [7] dux nonagenarius spectatâ rei militaris scientiâ. [8] To be translated by a relative clause. See Excurs. viii. 5. [9] relat. [10] fines propagare. [11] modicus. [12] quo facto. [13] aditus ad mare. [14] quo. [15] This sentence, down to with the sea, had better be arranged thus: 'He saw that, ‖ for this purpose *(ad eam rem)*, the town of Amphi-

polis was very conveniently situated ; and though he himself, as we have before related, had guaranteed to this town a free constitution, yet he was accustomed then only to keep treaties, when he drew advantages from them *(inde)*.' To guarantee a free constitution, 'to promise that the state *(respublica)* should be free.' [16] 'since they saw how important it was for them to gain possession-of this city, on account of their commerce *(commercia)* in Chalcis.' [17] et—et. [18] non desinere cogitare de ; spem non deponere. [19] perf. indic. [20] firmissimus.

SECTION 7.

Philip, who [1] was well aware that he should strive in vain for the sovereignty of Greece if Athens were to unite with Olynthus, ‖ now sought to breed enmity [2] between these two states, °and Amphipolis afforded [3] him the occasion. He †heard, that the Olynthians had sent an embassy to Athens, to ask assistance against his attacks on their territory; he [4] immediately promised the Athenians to conquer Amphipolis for them, if they, in return, would resign to him the less important city [5] of Pydna; he promised the Athenians other °advantages to boot [6], concerning which he would afterwards explain himself [7]. This overture was accepted, and the petition of the Olynthians rejected with contempt. Philip †availed himself ‖ of this disposition [8] against Athens; °for he sent a message to Olynthus also, °offering to cede [9] to them the city of Anthĕmus, which had long been subject to Macedonia, and to conquer for them [10] the cities of Pydna and Potidæa, if they, in return, would resign [11] to him Amphipolis. The Olynthians †allowed themselves to be blinded by the temptation of gain, °and Philip hastened [12] to besiege the city. He repeatedly assured [13] the Athenians during the siege, that he would admit their claims to Amphipolis [14]; °and thus †prevented [15] all hope of relief to that oppressed city. It surrendered at last at discretion to Philip [16], who united it with Macedonia.

[1] 'since he.' See Book v. sect. 16, note [6]. probe intelligere. [2] invidia. [3] *partic.* causam nactus. [4] 'he too *(et ipse)* sent ambassadors to Athens, to promise in his name, &c.' [5] minoris momenti oppidum. [6] ad spem majoris commodi. [7] agere. *obliq. oratio.*

[8] odium. [9] *Orat. obl.* velle sese, &c. [10] eorum nomine. [11] tradere. [12] *literally* [festinare, *or* properare? See D. *citus.*]; or, 'considered that no space of time should be interposed, &c. *(intermittere; quominus).*' [13] sæpe renunciari jussit. [14] 'that he admitted *(agnoscere)* their claims *(jura)* with-respect-to *(de)* Amphipolis.' [15] To be connected with the following clause. [16] Philippi arbitrio se dedere.

Section 8.

Philip now[1] besieged and conquered the cities of Pydna and Potidæa, which he immediately delivered up to the Olynthians; the Athenians, who were in garrison[2] in these two cities, he dismissed without ransom, °and †excused[3] himself on the plea[4] of the necessity imposed upon him by circumstances, for retaining Amphipolis, and performing his promise to the Olynthians. The Athenians, who[5] were at that time involved in the °unhappy war with their allies[6], ||now †saw through Philip's duplicity; but they †had contemptuously rejected the alliance of the powerful Olynthus, °and could not now hinder the city of Crenidæ, also in Thrace, near the famous and rich gold mines[7] of Mount Pangæus, from falling into the possession of Philip. These mines were now, after they had for a long time been neglected[8] by the ignorant Thracians, again opened, and worked[9] with such extraordinary industry, that Philip could every year coin gold pieces[10] to the amount of a thousand talents[11]. This prince[12], who so well understood the art of corruption, that he ventured to assert, that no fortress could hold out against him, into which he could drive a mule loaded with gold, found in the possession of the gold mines of Pangæus, the surest means of subjugating Greece. With this mighty lever[13] he raised adherents in all the Greek republics, who not only informed him of all state-secrets, but also thwarted[14] the measures that were adopted against his projects.

[1] quibus rebus gestis. [2] in præsidio esse. [3] excusare: *acc.* or without a case. [4] 'that, compelled by necessity, he retained Amphipolis, and, &c.' et—et. [5] This clause had better be placed as a *participial* clause, in the last sentence: 'though they saw through *(partic.)*——they could

not hinder.' [6] bellum sociale. [7] a gold mine,—metallum aurarium *(Plin.)*: auri *(Liv.)*: auriferum *(Lucan)*. [8] intermittere. [9] recolere. [10] nummi aurei. [11] either: '3000 pounds of gold *(ad pondo tria millia)*:' or, 'a thousand talents:' or, 'twenty millions of sesterces,—*sestertium ducenties* (HSCC).' [12] 'in the possession ‖ of these mines, Philip had found *(nancisci)* the surest means *(opes)* of subjugating Greece: for he understood the art of corruption so well, that he used to say, &c.' art of corruption,—largitio: [largitionis, *or* largiendi peritum esse]. [13] gravissimo stimulo concitare homines (qui, &c. *with subj.*). [14] disjicere.

SECTION 9.

After these conquests [1] Philip married Olympias, a sister of Arybas [2], king of Epirus. This marriage was celebrated with great pomp at the court at Pella; the festivals, which lasted several months [3], †were scarcely ended, °when a conspiracy of the Illyrian, Thessalian, and Thracian princes broke out, which, °however, was soon suppressed. Feared [4] by his neighbours, and in possession of a kingdom which in power and extent [5] far exceeded his paternal inheritance, ‖Philip might ‖now have enjoyed in peace the fruits of five years of victory; but peace [6] was not in the character of this extraordinary man. With restless ardour, but not by open warfare, he prosecuted his long-conceived plan of making himself master of all Greece, and the spirit of his age [7] favoured [8] °his great design [9].

[1] his rebus gestis. [2] *gen.* Arybantis. [3] This notion to be placed in the preceding proposition, 'during many months.' festivals, solennia;—which, though it originally denoted a festival that returned every year, was afterwards applied to any great festival: solennia nuptiarum. *Tac.* A. xi. 26. [4] quum et——formidolosus esset, et——, &c. [5] dignitas *and* amplitudo: *not* auctoritas. *Auctoritas* may be ascribed to a nation, so far as its will is a law to others; *dignitas*, so far as it begets respectful observance. [6] 'but he ——such was the unusual *(prorsus insolita)* character (*natura*: see P. I. p. 24, 56) of the man *(homo)*——could not endure peace.' [7] prava hominum tunc viventium studia. [8] obsecundare. [9] *pron. rel.*

SECTION 10.

Greece had always been disturbed by the conflicts of its more powerful states for sovereignty over the less powerful [1]; Sparta and Athens had in turns worn [2] each other out ‖in

these incessant wars, and brought themselves to the verge of utter dissolution; when[3] Epaminondas led the armies of Thebes, that republic attained the highest degree of authority in Greece, and had the most decisive influence[4] in the council of the Amphictyons, whose decisions had again attained to high authority among the Greeks. The Thebans availed themselves of their authority[5] to maintain the rank achieved for them by the valour of Epaminondas; hence the internal feuds of Greece were imprudently fostered, which Philip observed as from a watch-tower[6], till at last he spied the moment for subjugating all the states of Greece. °At this time the Thebans brought before the tribunal of the Amphictyons a complaint[7] against Sparta, that Phœbidas, several years before, in the midst of peace, had attacked as an enemy, and seized the citadel of Thebes. The Ephori of Sparta, as we have before related, †approved ‖of the act[8]; the council of the Amphictyons had, °on that account, condemned Sparta to a considerable fine[9]. At the same time also, the inhabitants of Phocis having ploughed up[10] a tract of land consecrated to the Delphic god, were condemned to a heavy fine, which they were unable to pay. They now[11] laid claim to the guardianship of the temple[12], °and †quoted a passage[13] from Homer as a proof. They resolved to oppose ‖the decision[14] of the Amphictyons by force; to which they †were excited by[15] one of the richest and bravest of their fellow-citizens. (B. C. 357.)

[1] 'by the more powerful states contending for sovereignty over *(gen.)* the smaller °ones.' *abl. abs. de imperio dimicare.* [2] 'had so wearied *(fatigare)* each other, that they seemed almost to be broken up *(dissolvi).*'

[3] 'but the Thebans, when Epaminondas led their armies, attained ——.'

[4] plurimum auctoritate valere. [5] 'and this authority the Thebans employed, principally, to, &c.; whence, unfortunately, the internal feuds of Greece were fostered, whilst, in the mean time, Philip——saw, &c.' *domestica dissidia alere.* [6] velut de speculâ. to spy,—aucupari. [7] accusare.

[8] The first proposition is here *subordinate* to the second. [9] magnâ pecuniâ mulctare; gravi mulctâ condemnare. [10] arare cœpisse; aratro subigere; colere. [11] quo facto. [12] templi patrocinium.

[13] [locum *afferre*: not *producere* or *adducere*. *Frotscher* ad Quint. x. 63.]

[14] auctoritas; sententia. [15] His name *(Philomelus)* had better be mentioned here.

SECTION 11.

Philomelus, °so was the man called, was unanimously chosen leader in the impending conflict. He first[1] went to Sparta[2]; for as that republic had not yet paid the fine imposed by the Amphictyons, it † was doubled, °and Sparta was now obliged to pay a thousand talents. Archidāmus[3], the king of Sparta, gave hearing indeed to the proposal of the Phocians, but did not openly declare himself for them, though they received assistance in money. Philomelus was thereby enabled to raise forces, by means of which he possessed himself of the temple and city of Delphi, after having overcome[4] the feeble opposition of a small band of Locrians. The conqueror[5] declared[6] to the inhabitants, that he was not come with the intention of destroying their city, and plundering the temple, but of vindicating the ancient right of Phocis[7] to guard the sanctuary of Apollo. He destroyed, on this occasion, the brass tablets on which the sentences passed[8] by the Amphictyons against Phocis[7] and Sparta were engraved; and in order to give the appearance of right to his conduct[9], he even consulted the oracle, which was now dependent on his command. The priestess, °indeed, † refused to mount the sacred tripod, °but when compelled °to do so by Philomelus, she gave this answer: "The[10] Ruler of Delphi[11] may rule according to his will[12]." These words were enough for him, and he took care to have them propagated as a favourable answer.

[1] 'before the war began.' [2] *not* Sparta. [3] 'after hearing the speech of the Phocians *(abl. abs.)*, Archidamus, though——did not declare——, yet contributed some money for *(ad)* the war.' voluntatem populi in neutram partem aperire. [4] This, as first in the order of thought, must precede. [5] the conqueror; see Book iii. sect. 10, note [2]. [6] affirmare. [7] 'of the Phocians.' [8] decreta facere. [9] 'that he might in some measure *(aliquo modo)* appear to act justly in the matter,'—juste rem administrare. [10] *orat. obl.* [11] The Ruler of Delphi,—(is) qui Delphis præest. [12] pro suo arbitrio.

Section 12.

The assembly of the Amphictyons ‖ now declared war against the Phocians, and this war was carried on for two years with varying success. Thebes, Locris, and several towns[1] of Thessaly † fought[2] for the authority[3] of the Amphictyons, °while[4] the Phocians fortified[5] the temple and town of Delphi, and drew over to their cause[a], together with Athens and Sparta, several towns of the Peloponnesus. Philomelus now began to stamp coins out of the consecrated gifts of gold and silver[6], with which pious zeal had enriched the temple; he raised[7] the pay of his mercenaries, who now flocked to him from all sides in great numbers. Several skirmishes took place, and with the cruelty which usually attends religious wars[8], the Phocian prisoners were put to death, as plunderers of the temple, and the Bœotian prisoners °underwent the same fate[9] by the law of retaliation[10]. At last Philomelus †was beaten in a bloody battle, and driven by the superiority of his enemies into rocky defiles[11], whence he could not escape. After a long and brave defence[12], he withdrew[13] himself from the tortures that threatened him, by a voluntary death[14], °and †threw himself down over the rocks. (B. C. 353.)

[1] *not* urbs *or* oppidum. [2] *abl. abs.* [3] auctoritas. [4] neither *quum* nor *dum* could stand here, since the thought to be expressed is *opposed* to that of the preceding proposition. [5] 'had fortified.' [6] aurum et argentum votivum. [7] 'after he had raised —— soldiers flocked, &c.' [8] *not* bellum religiosum. [9] omit down to fate, the verb being were put to death. [10] *Use* par pari referre. [11] fauces. [12] Use an adverbial sentence. [13] subducere. [14] voluntariâ morte.

Section 13.

Onomarchus, the brother of the general, collected[1] those that were left of the Phocian army ‖ after this bloody

[a] suæ causæ adjungere.

battle, and led them to Delphi. This army was †soon recruited[1] by means of the gold from the temple, °and Onomarchus, whom the voice of the people had called to the command of the army, surpassed his brother Philomelus both in courage and in policy; for he managed to gain over by bribery, a party in Thebes, by whose means the forces of that state were kept in inactivity[2]; the Thessalians openly joined him. Upon this he invaded Locris and Doris, †laid waste the country, °and then marched against king Philip, who[3], under pretext of quelling a disturbance that had broken out in Thessaly, on the death of the tyrant Alexander of Pheræ, had already[4] conquered some towns of that country.

Onomarchus at first gained considerable advantages over Philip, °and compelled this prince to evacuate Thessaly. But the Macedonian army was soon recruited, and superior in number to that of the Phocians. The armies met on the coast of Magnesia. Philip had ordered his soldiers to adorn their helmets with boughs of laurel; the sight ‖of these boughs, sacred to Apollo, awakened[5] in the troops of Onomarchus, the consciousness of having plundered the temple; but the superior number of Philip's army had more effect ‖than this °consciousness. After a desperate resistance Onomarchus fell, and with him more than six thousand of his warriors. Three thousand were taken in flight, and cast into the sea. Philip ordered the dead body of Onomarchus to be nailed on a cross.

[1] reparare. [2] prohibere a re gerendâ. [3] quoniam is (see Book v. sect. 16, note [6]) ex domesticâ Thessaliæ perturbatione,——exortâ, causam nactus, &c. On *quoniam*, see Excurs. ii. *(end)*. [4] jam tum. [5] concitare.

SECTION 14.

The Sacred War (for so was this conflict called) did not end ‖with the overthrow of Onomarchus. A brother of that general still lived[1]; his name was Phaÿllus. He

† collected the fugitives from the last battle, °and when he had ordered all the gold and silver yet remaining in the temple at Delphi to be turned into money [2], he could bring a new and not [3] insignificant army into the field. Philip, who || now [4] thought [5] that the very point of time was come for executing his design of conquering Greece, determined to advance to Phocis. The pretext [6] of punishing and extirpating the plunderers of the temple [7] would give a colour of justice to his expedition; the superstition of the Greeks acknowledged [8] and respected in him [9] the avenger of the Delphic god; the dread of his conquering sword [10] would paralyse [11] a people who, being [12] divided °and dismembered in themselves [13], could offer no considerable resistance. On the way from Thessaly to Phocis lay [14] the famous strait of Thermopylæ. Philip determined to take possession of || this pass, and already had his army set out from Macedonia to Thessaly, when the Athenians, made aware of the danger of their country by Demosthenes, †prepared [15] a fleet with incredible speed, and sailed to Thermopylæ. Philip had not expected that the Athenians, whom he had imposed upon [16] in all negociations since his accession to the throne, would be an obstacle to his designs. But he now found [17] an antagonist in Athens, who through his irresistible eloquence [18] was more formidable than all those who had, till that time, appeared against him in arms. This antagonist was Demosthenes, who now, for the first time, harangued the people [19], and soon showed himself a consummate politician, and the most eminent orator among the Greeks [20].

[1] superstes. [2] signare ; in nummos mutare. [3] nec is. [4] 'meanwhile.' [5] *ratus* is always inserted in the clause that depends on it. [6] 'by his giving out (quod simulabat)——the *(talis)* expedition had an appearance of equity *(jus)*.' [7] templorum raptores is used by *Justin*, viii. 2. [8] *pluperf.* agnoverat. [9] *not* in eo. [10] 'of the conqueror.' [11] stupore quodam terrere. [12] ut erat——distractus. [13] 'by domestic dissensions.' [14] 'persons journeying from Thessaly to Phocis must cross, &c. *(iter facere transire.)*' [15] ornare. [16] to impose on ; deceive,—*fraudare* (for the purpose *of getting some advantage* ; for *fraus*

is not only *deceit*, but any action which trenches upon the rights of another; any trespass, &c.): *decipere* (to *catch in a trap* or *snare*, fig. from catching wild beasts): *fallere* (involves the notion, that something is at variance with *the truth*): *inducere* (to *lead a man into harm* by treacherous advice): *destituere* (to *desert* a man; to *leave him in a strait*): *imponere* (has rather a *comic* notion; to *play off a trick* on a person; to *take him in*). [See D. *fallere*.]

[17] *not* nactus est, which implies that the thing found was *advantageous* to the finder. *nancisci* does not, however, convey the notion of a preceding endeavour or wish so strongly as *assequi*, *consequi*, *adipisci*. [18] mira dicendi vis et gravitas. [19] in suggestum escendere; pro suggestu dicere.

[20] 'equally excelled in political ability *(rerum publicarum scientia)* and eloquence.'

SECTION 15.

He was the son of a respectable citizen of Athens, who had gained a considerable fortune as an armourer. His father †died ‖when he was seven years old. His guardians, unfaithful and neglectful of their trust, robbed him of a considerable part of his patrimony. When he had reached adolescence, his soul was inflamed by the applause which an orator received [1], who had defended [2] the rights of Athens over the town of Oropus [3]. *Demosthenes, though a weakly body and a defective utterance [4] seemed to frustrate his purpose, determined to make himself an orator [5]. He frequented the school of Isæus, whose nervous style and vehement delivery [6] were better adapted for a popular [7] speaker than the soft eloquence [8] of Isocrates. °The young man soon †convinced himself of the necessity of a pleasing and faultless elocution [9], °and by unwearied diligence so far succeeded in correcting his defective utterance [4], that his pronunciation became articulate and well modulated [10]. An experiment [11], which he now made in public [12], in calling [13] his guardians to account, succeeded, perhaps, merely through the justice [14] of his cause. He failed [15], however, in a second attempt, which he made in public assembly. He was not, indeed, disheartened by this failure, but he was, nevertheless, much ashamed. The player [16] Satirus †observed ‖this, °and to encourage him, gave him instructions in elocution. Some verses out of Euripides, which Demosthenes recited [17] ‖at the command

of Satirus, were repeated by this player, and thus was the young orator made sensible of his faults. He now practised, by the advice of his teacher, till he had conquered every defect [18], and had become a perfect master of elocution [19]. His fame soon spread through all Greece, and [20] neither Athens nor Rome produced an orator superior to Demosthenes; Cicero himself, the first among the Roman orators [21], was not greater than Demosthenes.

[1] studiis prosequi aliquem. [See D. *studium*.] Grotefend makes *studium* the approbation that *manifests* itself in a man's countenance, movements, and general deportment; whereas *voluntas* (indefinite) and *favor* (definite) are the *inward sentiments* of good-will and favour. [2] pro jure——dicentem. [3] G. untis. de Oropuntis oppido. [4] vitium oris. *(Val. Max.)* [5] 'to devote himself to oratory.' [6] 'power in speaking, vehemence in the style-of-his-delivery *(in agendo)*.' [7] 'who was to speak before the people [a].' [8] suavitas. [9] pronuntiatio suavis et emendata. [10] 'that he spoke (*vocem edere*) both very plainly and sweetly.' [11] periculum dicendi. [12] in publico judicio. [13] 'when he compelled, &c.' *quum*. See *Excurs.* ii. 2, *b*. [14] integritas. [15] 'received no applause——when he spoke.' *perf. indic.* [16] histrio quidam. [17] 'when he, at the command of Satirus, had recited some verses, °and they had been repeated by him (Satirus), he perceived, &c.:' to repeat,—not *repetere*, which is rather to *begin again*, but *iterare* (to do a thing a second time). [18] vitium. [19] 'and could accomplish *(efficere)* in speaking whatever he pleased.' [20] '(so) that neither.' [21] Romanorum oratorum facile princeps.

Section 16.

The style of this °man's eloquence [1] was earnest [2] and commanding [3], like his character [4], masculine °and elevated, bold, impetuous [5], °and overwhelming [6], abounding in figures [7] and in questions, which when united [8] to the animating gestures with which [9] he invoked the gods, the elements, and the departed spirits of the heroes of Salamis and Marathon, communicated to his hearers °a full measure of the [10] enthusiasm [11] by which he was himself inspired [12]. No man [13] could so exactly calculate the passions of the people, and so

[a] The periphrastic fut. does not imply *the immediate following* of the action, but only that the *state* or *purpose* that *is to be* followed by the thing asserted, already exists. (G.)

completely bend them to his will; it often appeared, that [o] what they wished, [o] was the exact opposite of what he proposed [14]. But vehemence of expression [15] was the characteristic of his eloquence, and this was urgently demanded by the age in which he lived; for the people had become so bold and domineering [16], so turbulent and full of party-spirit, and so jealous of their power [17], and at the same time so deeply sunk in luxury and sloth, that [18] without the vehemence and overwhelming strength [19] of Demosthenes, it would have been impossible to awaken them to a sense of the public danger, and to make them united. Even this great orator himself would scarcely have been able to awaken || this people, almost exclusively devoted to the pleasures [20], and no longer mindful of the duties of life [21], out of their corrupt indifference [22], and horror of every exertion [23], if they had not entertained the highest opinion of the integrity of Demosthenes [24]. This opinion [25] gave to whatever he uttered weight [o] and energy. The Athenians were convinced, that the speaker had nothing in view but the public good, and it was known [26] that gold, by which Philip usually succeeded in effecting his purposes, lost its efficacy, when tried on the integrity of Demosthenes.

[1] style of eloquence,—oratio. [2] severus. [3] austerus. [4] secundum ingenium hominis. [5] vehemens. [6] graviter percellens animos. [7] sententiarum ornamenta. [8] pronuntiatus cum. [9] quum. *imp. ind.* [10] tantus. [11] studium. [12] flagrare. [13] Compare *Cic.* Orat. i. 19. Menedemus——dicebat, illum in animis vel judicum, vel populi permovendis non fuisse ignarum, quibus ea rebus consequeretur. [14] contra atque ipse rogaverat. [15] fulmina verborum. (*Comp.* Cic. Orat. 7. 'ejus non tam vibrarent fulmina,' &c.) [16] importunus, imperiosus. [17] cujusvis potentiæ invidens. [18] 'that they seemed to be able to be awakened and united by nothing but *(solus)* the vehemence, &c.' [19] incredibilis gravitas. [20] soli voluptati deditus. [21] vitâ dignum esse, nihili faciens. [22] dissolutio. [23] torpor; tædium laboris; inertia. [24] 'if he had not also *(idem)* been in high estimation *(bona existimatio)* with the people for integrity,' *say*, 'reputation of integrity.' [magnam de aliquo, *or* aliquâ re opinionem habere, *is also good Latin.* See Nep. Alcib. 7, 3.] [25] ejusmodi existimatio. [26] 'nor were they ignorant that his integrity had been tried by the gold with which——.'

Section 17.

At this time there lived at Athens two other men of equally irreproachable character[1], Isocrates and Phocion. They[2] also had not suffered the designs[3] of the Macedonian to escape their notice; but they felt, that the spirit[3] which had once animated the Athenians under Miltiades, Themistocles, and Cimon, had now declined. *They upheld, indeed[4], the enthusiasm[5], which Demosthenes excited, but they † were convinced, that Philip's incessant perseverance in following up his projects would triumph over the inconstancy of the Athenians, °and exhorted their countrymen[6], °on this account, to seek and maintain the friendship of this prince. Phocion, the only °general whose abilities[7] could save the republic in the present crisis, saw in the predilection of his countrymen for the ostentatious Chares, the impossibility of a favourable issue; but though he always fought successfully against Philip, when[8] his country entrusted him with the command of the army, he always counselled peace. Demosthenes, Isocrates, and Phocion, were perhaps the only persons among the rulers[9] of Athens, who, inaccessible to the gold of Philip, preserved, in the general corruption of their fellow-citizens, the ancient virtue of their ancestors; but the conflict ‖of these few[10] against the multitude bought over by the enemy of their country, was too unequal; and even if their[11] acknowledged probity often determined the people to adopt the measures they proposed, the corrupt hirelings of the crafty Macedonian[12] would, nevertheless, prevent or elude whatever measures might thwart his ambitious projects. Besides, these perfidious wretches found means to excite groundless apprehensions against[13] Artaxerxes Ochus, at that time king of Persia, while Philip, who[14] now saw himself shut out of Greece, attacked, by open force, the possessions of the Athenians in Thrace, and especially the confederate states of Olynthus, whom he had

hitherto blinded by the simulation of neighbourly friendship. Firmly determined to subjugate these states, after having lived in seeming peace at Pella, for nearly two years, since his abortive attack on Thermopylæ, he seized the government of Olynthus.

[1] neither *natura*, nor *ingenium*, nor *indoles*, would do here, as it is not merely *natural* character that is meant: 'pari innocentiâ ac probitate.'
[2] qui et ipsi. [3] virtus. [4] ut—ita. [5] studia.
[6] cives. [7] 'who alone by his military abilities (*virtus imperatoria*. Cic. leg. Man. 11.) might have saved the state.' [8] as often as.
[9] principes. [10] quibus tamen paucis——erat. [11] and—their. *pron. rel.*
[12] *Macedo*: as *Pœnus* for *Hannibal*. [See D. *astutus*.] [13] ab.
[14] See Book v. sect. 16. note [6].

SECTION 18.

The inhabitants of Olynthus, to whose[1] remonstrances Philip had answered, that either they must surrender their city, or he must evacuate Macedonia, || now sent to Athens for assistance. Hence was this business brought before the people, and though Demades and Hyperides opposed, with great vehemence, the motion[2] of Demosthenes, to render immediate assistance to the Olynthians, the people, notwithstanding, resolved to fit out a fleet, and protect the oppressed city. But the treasure[3] which the parsimony of their ancestors had collected for the most urgent necessities of the republic, had, since the times of Pericles, been appropriated to public games, and especially to [o]the representation of plays[4], which were at Athens got up[5] at an incredible expense. The citizens received yearly a considerable sum || for the payment of admission to these plays[6]. They now applied for this money as a right[7]; for they had a short time before passed a law, at the motion[8] of Eubulus, according to which the punishment of death was denounced against the converting of this money to other purposes. The consequence of this inconsiderate law was, that on every urgent occasion it was found necessary to impose taxes extraordinary,

which being unequally distributed, and levied[9] with much difficulty, but seldom attained their object.

[1] 'who, complaining to Philip, had received for answer, that——.' [2] 'Demosthenes, who proposed that assistance should immediately be rendered to the Olynthians.' [3] pecunia. [4] in ludos publicos maxime scenicos adhibebatur. [5] edi solere. *partic.* [6] ludorum spectandi causâ. Z. p. 387, *note*. P. I. p. 104, note *f*. [quorum ut visendi facultas esset civibus. *Comment.*] [7] tanquam debitam. [8] rogante. [9] exigere.

Section 19.

Demosthenes managed ‖this obstacle with the utmost caution. After he had proved how necessary it was to raise an army to oppose with energy the ever-grasping ambition[1] of Philip, he suggested, that[2] the treasure appropriated to the expenses of the theatre was probably the only means of providing the army with necessaries in their present urgent circumstances[3]. He spoke at full[4] of Philip's views, and unveiled, in a masterly speech for the Olynthians[5], the whole policy[6] of the Macedonian. Yet could he only obtain by his importunity, a weak aid of two thousand mercenaries, who were sent to the protection of Olynthus, under the command of Chares. But this spendthrift, whose retinue in the field consisted of a multitude of dissolute servants[7], the ministers to his passions, did not give himself the smallest trouble to effect the object of his mission[8]. He did not sail to Olynthus, but landed on the coast of Pallene, where he ‖drove back a guard[9] of eight hundred Macedonians, °and then returned to Athens to celebrate his triumph. In the mean time Philip approached the city, after he had already conquered the surrounding territory. A second embassy ‖from Olynthus †acquainted the Athenians how much they had been deluded by the pretended victory of Chares. Once more Demosthenes undertook to support the petition of the Olynthians; but in vain did he entreat the Athenians to send a sufficient number of their citizens to the protection of Olynthus. °Probably ‖they †thought, that the danger

was not so imminent[10]; °and only four thousand mercenary foot-soldiers, with a hundred and fifty horse, were sent, under the command of Charidemus. He[11], notorious for excesses of every sort, merely †laid waste a province of Macedonia, which lay next to the territory of Olynthus, °and then threw himself into that city. Re-inforced by these troops, the besieged hazarded a sally; but they †were driven back with considerable loss, °and †being sorely pressed by the restless conqueror, had recourse, for the third time, to Athens. They complained of the brutal excesses of Charidemus, whose hirelings, imitating the rapacity of their leader, had[12] brought the luckless city to such extremities, that nothing but the speediest and strongest aid could possibly save it[13].

[1] in dies latius proferre consilia. [2] 'it was beyond a doubt, that only by the money appropriated to the theatrical-performances——could the army be provided with necessaries, &c.'—pæne dubium non esse, quin.
[3] tantis reipublicæ temporibus. [4] copiosius exponere de.
[5] See the first note on Book iv. [6] 'views;' 'purposes.' [7] 'whom even in war dissolute ministers to his passions *(gen. libidines)* accompanied.'
[8] quod debebat: ad quod missus erat. [9] præsidium tollere.
[10] præsens periculum. [11] verum is, ut erat——dissolutus, &c.
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SECTION 20.

Demosthenes and Æschines pleaded, ||on this occasion, the cause[1] of Olynthus with all the fire of their great talents[2], and awakened the Athenians out of their inactivity. They now determined to apply the monies appropriated to the theatre in aid of the city. An army of citizens was raised, and an embassy sent into the Peloponnesus, to kindle in the states of that part of Greece, the flame of war against Philip. During these transactions[3] Olynthus fell, chiefly by treason; for even there the gold of the Macedonian had bought over a party. The brave[4] Apollonides, who, at the head[5] of the Olynthian cavalry, had hitherto checked the advances of Philip, †was accused of intelligence with the Macedonians,

°and banished the city. With him sank the last safeguard of Olynthus[6], for now the command of the army was entrusted to two of Philip's hirelings[7], who[8] in a sally led the greatest part of the garrison into an ambush preconcerted[9] with the enemy, where they were surrounded on all sides, and compelled to lay down their arms. The city[10], being deprived of its defenders, † opened its gates to the conqueror; it was plundered and laid waste, its inhabitants sold as slaves[11], and the traitors themselves, Lasthenes and Euthycrates, were put to death before the eyes of Philip. He loved, indeed, and purchased[12] ‖ the treason; but he abhorred its tools[13]. (B. C. 348.)

[1] causam sustinere (suscipere, agere). [2] summa ingenii vis ac gravitas. [3] dum hæc aguntur. [4] vir fortissimus, *appos.* [5] præfectus. [6] 'he had been the only person, on whom they could build any hope of.' aliqua spes superest mihi, [spem in aliquo ponere, reponere, &c.]. [7] 'bribed by Philip.' mercede conductus. [8] 'being led by these °persons into——were compelled to lay down their arms,'—maxima *pars*——*coacti* sunt. Here the *constructio ad sensum*, as it is called, is the usual one. [9] Translate by a sentence with *uti*—convenerat. [10] oppidani. [11] sub coronâ venire. [12] mercari. Here the restrictive *ita*, followed by *ut*, may be used. Cicero is partial to this construction. Rosc. Am. 19. '*ita* tamen quæstus te cupidum esse oportebat, *ut* horum existimationem——putares aliquid valere oportere.' *And presently after:* 'verumtamen hoc *ita* est utile, *ut* ne plane illudamur ab accusatoribus.' *Ita* is equivalent to 'on this supposition;' 'with *this proviso*.' [13] proditores.

Section 21.

The sad fate ‖ of this mighty city made a deep impression[1] on all Greece. Philip had now become master of Chalcis; the Thracian Chersonesus and the northern coast of the Ægean Sea were conquered; he had put an end to a conflict between two Thracian princes by incorporating[2] their territories with his own kingdom. He now[3] determined to make himself master of the Hellespont and of the Strait of Thermopylæ. This strait was the key[4] of Greece, and the Hellespont was the road by which[5] Athens and a great part of the Grecian states received their provisions

was not so imminent[10]; °and only four thousand mercenary foot-soldiers, with a hundred and fifty horse, were sent, under the command of Charidemus. He[11], notorious for excesses of every sort, merely †laid waste a province of Macedonia, which lay next to the territory of Olynthus, °and then threw himself into that city. Re-inforced by these troops, the besieged hazarded a sally; but they †were driven back with considerable loss, °and †being sorely pressed by the restless conqueror, had recourse, for the third time, to Athens. They complained of the brutal excesses of Charidemus, whose hirelings, imitating the rapacity of their leader, had[12] brought the luckless city to such extremities, that nothing but the speediest and strongest aid could possibly save it[13].

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from the fertile shores of the Euxine. * He † had fitted out a considerable fleet[6], ° and[7] Chares, who commanded the naval forces[8] of the Athenians, was more intent on plunder than on encountering[9] the fleet of Philip. ° Consequently, not only the Thracian possessions of the Athenians, but also the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, became an easy prey to the Macedonian. The island of Eubœa also, which lies along[10] the coast of Attica, ° and[11] which Philip called the manacle of Greece, was, with the connivance of the inhabitants, occupied by the Macedonians.

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In these circumstances[1] the Athenians † desired nothing more ardently than to make peace with Philip. They sent Phrynon and Ctesiphon to sound the intentions of the king. On their return to Athens, they brought information that Philip was bent on peace, and had shown the most friendly disposition towards the republic[2]. Upon this the Athenians resolved to send a formal[3] embassy to the king; Æschines and Demosthenes were among the delegates. But Philip || found means to protract his negociations with these ° delegates, under various pretexts[4]; for[5] he always carried peace in his mouth and war in his heart[6]. * He even sent an embassy to Athens, and, under[7] colour of a solemn compact, lulled to sleep[8] the rulers of that republic; he won over by bribery those who might impede his views, and being invited by the Thebans, who had transferred to him the chief

command of their army still[9] at war with the Phocians, he took possession of the Straits of Thermopylæ, on the borders of Phocis.

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was not so imminent[10]; °and only four thousand mercenary foot-soldiers, with a hundred and fifty horse, were sent, under the command of Charidemus. He[11], notorious for excesses of every sort, merely †laid waste a province of Macedonia, which lay next to the territory of Olynthus, °and then threw himself into that city. Re-inforced by these troops, the besieged hazarded a sally; but they †were driven back with considerable loss, °and †being sorely pressed by the restless conqueror, had recourse, for the third time, to Athens. They complained of the brutal excesses of Charidemus, whose hirelings, imitating the rapacity of their leader, had[12] brought the luckless city to such extremities, that nothing but the speediest and strongest aid could possibly save it[13].

[1] in dies latius proferre consilia. [2] 'it was beyond a doubt, that only by the money appropriated to the theatrical-performances——could the army be provided with necessaries, &c.'—præne dubium non esse, quin.
[3] tantis reipublicæ temporibus. [4] copiosius exponere de.
[5] See the first note on Book iv. [6] 'views;' 'purposes.' [7] 'whom even in war dissolute ministers to his passions *(gen. libidines)* accompanied.'
[8] quod debebat: ad quod missus erat. [9] præsidium tollere.
[10] præsens periculum. [11] verum is, ut erat——dissolutus, &c.
[12] *orat. obliq.* it being the assertion of the Olynthians. [13] 'that they could not be saved, except by the quickest and amplest *(firmissimus)* assistance *(nisi——non)*.'

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the Amphictyonic council, that their weapons and horses should be sold, and the [10] money °arising from the sale dedicated to the service [11] of the Delphic god; that they should remain in possession of their land, but [12] that a thousand [13] talents from its yearly produce should be paid, till the indemnification [14] of the plundered temple should be complete; that their cities should be demolished, and they should dwell for the future in villages, which should contain no more than sixty houses, separated from each other by four acres [15]; °and finally, that the Corinthians, who [16] had lately sent troops to the help of the Phocians, should be deprived of their presidency [17] at the Pythian games, and that this °privilege, together with the guardianship of the temple, and [18] the vote of the Phocians in the Amphictyonic council, should be transferred to the king of the Macedonians.

[1] ne—pax—futura esset. [2] 'which who did not possess, could not retain-possession of *(obtinere)*, &c.' [3] incolumis recessus. [4] quo facto. [5] *(fraudulentæ)* ostentationes. Cic. Att. v. 13. Fin. ii. 24. [6] 'which was the oldest and most benevolent institution of the Greek states.'—Why rel. sentence rather than a simple apposition? See Book v. sect. 16, note [6]. [7] 'by which it was provided *(cautum)* that no, &c.' [8] hic. [9] 'and that they should not *(neve)* be allowed *(licet)* for the future to send, &c.' [10] is. [in the *Commentary*, 'quæ inde rediisset pecunia.'] [11] cultus. [12] eâ lege——ut. [13] What numeral? [14] Trans. by an adverbial sentence. in integrum restituere. [15] 'so that between house and house a space of four *(quaternus)* acres was interposed.' *abl. abs.* Translate house and house by *singuli*, omitting *houses*, as being before expressed. [16] [Should this be translated by a rel. clause? if not, why not? See Book v. sect. 16, note [6].] [17] principatus. [18] Separate the last member of the proposition, and continue thus: 'and that on him too *(cui eidem)* instead of the Phocians, the right should be °conferred of voting in the council of the Amphictyons.' Phocensium loco jus dicendi sententiam.

SECTION 24.

This decree having been passed by three states [1] of Greece, to the exclusion of the other members of the Amphictyonic council [2], was indeed, from this very circumstance [3], illegal; but [4] Philip, who scrupled at no means that served to the attainment of his purpose, had, by bribery or by his

power, procured this cruel sentence, and received commission to put it in execution. The Phocians, who, confiding in the Macedonian's promise, had consented to render obedience to the sentence of the Amphictyons, fell ‖ on account of this inhuman decree[5] into a state of stupor, that made them incapable of resistance. Within two-and-twenty days Philip executed the sentence with unprecedented and heartless cruelty[6]. All the towns in Phocis, all the monuments of this brave people, were levelled with the ground; the inhabitants of the land, for the most part decrepit old men, women, and children (for the young men capable of bearing arms had fallen[7] in the ten years' war, or had escaped the misfortunes of their country by flight) were[8] driven like herds of cattle to the fields, which in future they were to cultivate[9] for their cruel oppressors[10]. Many families were transplanted into the desolate regions of Macedonia. "Suppressed grief," says[11] Justin, "mute consternation, governed these unhappy persons[12]; they durst not weep, lest their tears should be imputed to them as a crime. From this dissimulation, grief sank the deeper into their hearts. They looked with silent agony on the graves of their forefathers, on the statues of their gods, on the dwellings where they had received life, and where they had given it to their children, and they † bemoaned the fate that had cast them on such times[13]."

[1] trium civitatum auctoritas. [2] 'who had *(esse)* the right of voting in that council.' To vote: see the last note. To the exclusion: abl. abs. *prohibere*. [3] 'according to the law.' [4] 'but, nevertheless, to Philip, who scrupled at *(aspernari)* nothing *(res nulla)*, provided he could effect what he desired——was the commission given to execute the cruel sentence *(decretum)* which he himself, either *(sive)* by bribery or by power, had procured *(auctorem esse)*.' negotium alicujus rei mandare. [5] quâ tantâ immanitate. [6] 'with unheard-of cruelty.' [7] aut—aut.
[8] After a parenthesis, the resumption of the discourse must be marked by *igitur*, *sed*, or *tamen*: 'sed miseri isti, &c.' [9] culturi erant.
[10] vexator. [11] ait. [12] 'had seized the minds of the unfortunate persons.' suppressed,—tacitus. [13] 'that they had lived to these times *(in eam diem)*.'

SECTION 25.

The news of these events spread alarm through all Greece. The Athenians summoned their citizens from the surrounding country [1] to the city; to those at a greater distance, they gave command to occupy the fortresses of Eleusis, Phyle, Aphidna, and Sunium. They received the fugitives from Phocis with hospitality, and fitted out an army to march to the assistance of the unfortunate neighbouring state; but [2], in the mean time, they received intelligence, that their opposition would be to no purpose, for that Philip was already master of Greece. The Straits of Thermopylæ and the mountains of Phocis were in his power; and, as commander-in-chief in the sacred war, he had a specious pretext [3] for treating all those who should oppose the execution of the sentence of the Amphictyons, as partakers in the violation of the temple [4]; he also found it no longer necessary to dissemble [5] with the Athenians. In an insolent letter he advised them to abandon their military preparations. He reminded them of the confederacy into which they had lately entered, and [6] from which the Phocians were excluded, and threatened to have recourse to force [7], if they should dare any longer to oppose him. The Athenians now saw, to their confusion, that they had neglected all earlier opportunities of curbing [8] the ambition of Philip; and they even acceded [9] to a new sentence of the Amphictyons, by which [10] Macedonia [11] was declared first in rank among the confederate states of Greece, and the presidency [12] in the Pythian games was adjudged to the king. (B. C. 345.)

[1] ex eâ vicinitate. [2] 'but, in the mean time, word was brought that help would be to no purpose.' [See D. frustra.] [3] causæ specie uti posse, quâ. [4] 'of the violated temple.' [5] veram animi voluntatem celare aliquem. [6] See Book iii. sect. 14, note [5]. [7] vi atque impressione uti. *Cic. Fam.* v. 2. [8] quum——coercere possent. [9] adsentire (ri). [10] quo sanctum est, ut et——et. [11] 'the Macedonians.' [12] 'and the king should preside, &c.'

Section 26.

Philip †contented[1] himself, for the present, with the influence[2] which[3] he had gained in politics, as first member of the Amphictyonic council, and in religious affairs, as guardian of Delphi, and conductor of the Pythian games. He quitted[4] Greece; but left a garrison in Nicæa, to keep open the pass of Thermopylæ[5]; and the strongest places[6] of Phocis and Thessaly remained occupied by Macedonian troops. He now[7] returned in triumph to his capital; the entire subjugation of Greece he deferred to the next favourable opportunity, which, according to his usual principles of action[8], he resolved, in a short time, to bring about. After a short repose, during which he had adorned his capital, and fortified his conquests, he undertook an expedition to Illyria, where two national tribes were contending about a tract of land[9], barren indeed, and uncultivated, but containing very productive salt-mines. As usual, he decided the quarrel in such a manner as †to get the[10] tract of land for himself, and thus[11] his territory extended to the Ionian Sea. During his absence, ambassadors came to Pella from the king of Persia. †Their object was[12], to obtain ocular demonstration[13] of Philip's power, and of his resources, as[14] his increasing greatness alarmed the king of Persia. They made the offer of an alliance with Macedonia; this was the pretext of their embassy. Alexander, who at that time was not yet twelve years old, received these delegates in his father's name, and at a feast put such questions[15] concerning the Persian government, the nature of the land, and the character of their king, as to give the Barbarians some prognostic[16] of his future greatness, and to excite their admiration.

[1] contentus. [2] eâ potentiâ. [3] 'by which, both as chief-member of the common council *(princeps communis consilii)*, and protector of Delphi, and president *(moderator)* of the Pythian games, he had chief influence *(valere plurimum)* both in politics *(respublica:* sing.), and also in religious affairs *(religiones)*.' [4] copias *ita* eduxit, *ut*, &c. [5] 'by which Thermopylæ

might be open *(patere)* to him.' [6] firmissima oppida. [7] See above, sect. 21, note [3]. [8] pro more suo. [9] de regione dimicare. [10] *demonstr. pronoun:* the article being here *too definite* in its reference to be untranslated. [11] 'as——to extend his territory, &c.' [12] eo consilio, ut. [13] præsentes explorare. [14] 'from whom, since he heard that his power *(magnitudo)* was increased every day, the king of the Persians thought that he had reason to fear °danger.' ab aliquo sibi metuendum (esse) putare. [15] sciscitari ita, ut. [16] suspicionem alicujus rei alicujus animo injicere. Admiration may also be governed by *injicere: et admirationem, et——suspicionem——injicere.*

SECTION 27.

After the disturbances in Illyria were quieted, Philip †returned to Thessaly, and so regulated the affairs[1] of this country, that he received all tributes, brought the rulers of each city under his own dominion, and finally transformed this turbulent land into a province of his own kingdom. There is related an act[2] of justice on this occasion, very[3] honourable to his character, and which particularly deserves to be recorded as an evidence that there is in the mind of every man a sense of rectitude impressed by nature, though often kept under, and even effaced by arguments of state-policy. A Macedonian officer[a], who had received many distinctions[4] from the king on account of his valour, †had been cast by a storm on the coast, °and lay on the shore without any sign of life[5], when[6] the owner of an estate found him, and ordered him to be taken to his house. ° Here, by careful nursing, he recalled °the unfortunate man[7] to life[8]; he took care of him, and nourished him for forty days, till his recovery was complete. Apparently[9] grateful, he left the house of his benefactor; but he †had seen the prosperity[10] of this man with envious eyes, °and now solicited of the king, as a reward for past services, the estate of his preserver[11]. Philip, without inquiry, granted this shameful request[12], °and the ungrateful[13] °rascal drove the unfortunate owner of the estate from his property.

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[a] miles.

Astonished ‖ at this unprecedented audacity, the man thus robbed, went and told the king, how he had saved the life of the officer, and what had been his recompense. Philip having ascertained the truth of this affair [14], restored the estate to its owner [15], and ordered the treacherous rascal [16] to be branded on the forehead; for hospitality was held by the Greeks to be a sacred and inviolable right.

[1] rationes ita constituere. [2] 'they relate that Philip, &c.' justitiæ specimen edere. [3] quod quum——tum. [4] præmiis, beneficiis, &c. ornari. [5] exanimis. [6] This proposition is to be incorporated with the following one. [7] Simply *hunc*. When, in English, a *person or thing before-mentioned*, is described by a substantive, *which contains no new predicate* (or rather, no *new notion* that deserves to be stated), it is generally better to translate it by the simple pronoun, placing it at the *head of the clause*, which is thus more closely connected with the preceding one. [8] vitæ reddere; in vitam restituere. [9] 'for so great benefits he *(iste)* pretended indeed, [o]when departing, a grateful mind; but, &c. *(sed idem)*.' [10] splendor. [11] 'of him *(illius)* to whom he owed his life *(salus)*.' *debebat*, not *deberet*: it being an *historical fact*, but one which was certainly not stated in the request. [12] 'after he had obtained, without-hesitation, this [o]favour.' impetrare. [13] improbus. [14] re cognitâ. [15] huic. [16] nefarium istum.

Section 28.

As soon as the affairs of Thessaly were settled, the small states of the Peloponnesus, Messene [1], Arcadia, and Argos, besought the help of Philip against the usurpations of Sparta, which no longer aspiring to that influence which [2] it had so long maintained over the general affairs of Greece, limited itself [3] to the strengthening of its power in the Peloponnesus, and held its weaker neighbours in revolting [4] subjection. The king, eagerly seizing this occasion for war [5], procured a decree of the Amphictyons, calling upon him to take the defenceless communities under his protection, and to subdue the arrogance [6] of Sparta. He sent money and troops into the Peloponnesus, and hastened to march thither in person, in spite of the Corinthians, from whom he had lately taken [7] some of their colonies, and who were preparing to prevent his entrance into the Grecian peninsula. The Spartans also [8]

made preparations, and besought the help of Athens. Demosthenes † supported[9] || their petition, ° and proposed a law, according to which[10] the Lacedæmonians were to be supported in the impending conflict.

[1] Messeniorum, &c. *not* Messene. [2] in universis rebus Græcorum valere plurimum. [3] id unum spectabant, ut. [4] indigna servitus. [5] opportunam belli occasionem nancisci. [6] superbiam frangere. [7] spoliare ; alicujus imperio decerpere. [8] et ipsi. [9] opitulari. [10] legem rogare, ut.

SECTION 29.

But while the Athenians were debating[1], Philip was acting[2]. He † sailed to Laconia, landed without opposition at the promontory of Tænarus, † united with his own forces the people of Messene, Arcadia, and Argos, ° and laid waste the most fertile parts of the territory of Lacedæmon. Historians[3] mention no army sent by the Spartans for the protection of their territories, but ° assert, that this proud republic sent the son of their king Archidamus with proposals of peace[4], according to which[5], they were to resign the sovereignty of Messene, Arcadia, and Argos, and to acquiesce[6] in whatever[7] adjustment of their boundaries the sentence of Philip should prescribe. So low[8], in less than a single generation, was a state sunk, which[9], for several centuries, had maintained the first rank among the confederate states of Greece, ° and which, whenever the united Greeks were involved in war with neighbouring or distant nations, took the lead, ° and which, under the command of Agesilaus, carried its victorious arms into the very heart of the Persian monarchy, ° and fed[9] itself with the proud thought of overturning the throne of the great king. These[10] foreign wars, brilliant[11] as was their success, diminished the internal resources of the state, and[12] the fall of Sparta[13] is a striking warning to ° all states[14] that seek to increase their internal strength[15] by the extension of their dominions.

[1] tempus terere consultationibus. [2] rem gerere. [3] nec rerum scriptores——commemorarunt, sed, &c. [4] de pace. [5] 'according to which it was agreed, that, &c.' [6] ratos esse pati. [7] 'whatever boundaries of their empire Philip should at his pleasure prescribe *(plup. subj.)*.'—pro arbitrio suo. [8] 'to such a low-state *(humilitas)* was a state sunk *(dejici)*, which, &c.' *qui* with *indic.*, if the statement is simply an historical statement of the fact, considered objectively: with the *subjunct.* if the writer contemplates the state, *as such*, in reference to its subsequent depressed state. [9] 'who had raised their hopes so high, that they felt-confident that they should overthrow the empire of the great king.' in tantam spem animos erigere. [10] verum tamen ea ipsa bella, &c. [11] 'though with most brilliant *(splendidus)* success.' *Quamvis, quamquam, etsi* may be used adverbially without a verb: not so *licet*, which remains true to its original nature, of a defective verb. [12] 'so that.' [13] Simply, *illorum* casus. [14] pron. expressed. [15] firmitas domestica; internum robur.

Section 30.

After the affairs in the Peloponnesus had been settled, Philip returned to Macedonia. But neither his army nor his fleet remained inactive[1]; he extended the territory[2] of his father-in-law, king Alexander of Epirus, and conquered the island of Halonesus, which † had been formerly subject to the Athenians, ° but was now in the possession of pirates. Not only were the claims[3] which Athens made on this island disregarded, but also the rest of the Thracian Chersonesus, which up to this time had been under the dominion of Athens[4], was attacked by Philip, when the city of Cardiæ besought his protection against Athens[5]. Chersobleptes, the son of Cotys, had surrendered the territory of this city to the Athenians, but retained possession of the city itself. Disputes now † arose about the boundaries, ° and Philip, to whom every occasion for a new war was welcome, protected the Cardians. Upon this the Athenians sent Diopeithes with a fleet to the Chersonesus. This valiant commander was a sworn enemy[6] to the Macedonians. After having sufficiently secured the Athenian possessions, he attacked the territory of Philip in Thrace, conquered several cities, and carried the booty to the Athenian colonies. He even seized[7] a delegate of the Macedonian king, on his way to Athens, and also his

letter-carrier [8], and sent his letters to Athens, where they [9] were read before [10] an assembly of the people.

[1] 'but in the mean time he suffered,'—to avoid a change of subject.—tempus otio transigere. [2] dilatare fines. [3] jura: *to be inserted in the rel. clause.* [4] 'of the Athenians.' *So* Cardians. [5] 'against them.' [6] acerbissimus hostis. [7] intercipere. [8] tabellarius. [9] quæ (literæ) ibi. [10] recitare: *not* prælegere; which is to *read first* what another is to read after you.

SECTION 31.

Philip [1], who [2] both [3] by extending the dominions of Epirus, where he had seized Cassiope, a city established by colonists from Elis, and also by incessant attacks on the possessions of the Athenians in Thrace, had long ago broken the peace with Athens, did yet accuse Diopeithes as a robber [4], and a violator of the peace. The king's hirelings supported ‖ this accusation, and also charged the general with piracy, because he had levied money from the allies of Athens in Ionia, for the support of the war [5]. Demosthenes † pleaded the cause of this general, in a speech on the affairs of the Chersonesus, ° and procured [6] the fitting out of a fleet, which, under the command of Callias, † captured the Macedonian ships, ° and landed on the coasts of Thessaly. An embassy was sent to the states of the Peloponnesus, and to the Eubœans, calling upon them to throw off [7] the yoke of the Macedonians. The island of Eubœa was at that time under Philip's sovereignty, and three governors were appointed, in order to retain the appearance of the ancient form of government, who reigned there in his name [8]. But acts of oppression [9] † began to increase, and to become intolerable [10] to the people. Several cities appealed to Athens, and other Greek states, stating [11] the sad position in which they were unjustly placed; * the Athenians, at the proposal of Demosthenes, sent Phocion with an army to Eubœa, who, with the help of the revolted people, expelled in a short time the Macedonian garrisons. Demosthenes had accompanied Phocion ‖ on

this expedition, and by his irresistible eloquence roused most of the cities of Eubœa to take up arms against Philip. His[12] merit, to which the success of the enterprise[13] might chiefly[14] be ascribed, was rewarded by the grateful Athenians with a golden crown. (B. C. 342.)

[1] quâ de re certior factus Philippus. [2] 'although he himself.' [3] vel quod——ampliarat, vel crebro factis——incursionibus, tamen. [4] latrocinii et ruptæ pacis. [5] in usum belli pecuniam exigere. [6] efficere ut. [7] excutere. [8] 'for in the island of Eubœa, Philip, though some *(aliquis)* appearance of the old constitution was left *(abl. abs.)*, had placed *(constituere)* three governors *(rerum administrandarum triumviri)*.' [9] acts of oppression,—vexationes. [10] gravis. [11] appealed —stating. ostendere. [12] quare hunc cives, quod——intelligebant, &c. [13] res bene gesta. [14] maximam partem.

Section 32.

While Philip's garrisons were being driven out of Eubœa, he himself was engaged[1] in an enterprise of greater extent. The Greek states derived[2] a great part of the necessaries of life from the fruitful provinces[3] of the Propontis and of the Euxine sea. The numerous cities, with which the shores of these seas were covered, † gave life[4] to the commerce of the Greeks, °and Philip, whose state-policy[5] left no means disregarded, by which he hoped to compass his purpose, resolved by the conquest of the powerful cities of Perinthus, Byzantium, and Selymbria, to deprive Greece of the very necessaries of life. But the Athenians supported their old friends and allies, by conveying to them °supplies for the war; the islands, particularly Chios and Rhodes, sent victuals and arms; Demosthenes himself went to Byzantium, and roused the citizens to a vigorous resistance. Philip's[6] military skill was wrecked[7] before Perinthus; the brave inhabitants[8] †repelled every assault, °and at last forced the besiegers to retreat. (B. C. 341.) The king ‖ now turned to Selymbria and Byzantium. His exhausted treasury no longer †sufficed to pay his army[9], °and he sought

new resources in the booty [10] of the cities, to which he was laying siege. The breach between him and the Athenians was not yet avowed [11]; even [12] after he had succeeded in slaying Diopeithes in battle, and in capturing a fleet of twenty Athenian ships, which were conveying corn to Selymbria, he wrote [13] to Athens, assured the Athenians, that he was absolutely driven to hostilities [14] against that general, whom he did not look upon as the commander-in-chief of the Republic, but as the tool [15] of a faction, headed by Demosthenes, and as the leader of a band of robbers, who were plundering his allies. He also restored, at the entreaty of the Athenians, the ships he had captured, and assured [16] them, that he should always remain true to his obligations [17] towards the [18] Republic.

[1] rem majorem gerere. [2] vehere. [3] *not* provincia. [4] juvare. [5] 'who.' [6] ita factum est, ut. [7] irritam cadere. [8] oppidani. [9] 'for payment [o] of his troops.' [10] ex prædâ novas opes quærere. [11] manifestum esse. [12] immo. [13] to write—and assure. per literas affirmare. [14] invitum sese hostiliter rem gessisse contra eum, quem, &c. [15] 'as one who acted *(partic.)* by the authority of a *(quidam)* faction, of which Demosthenes was the head *(princeps)*, &c.' rem administrare. [16] 'promised.' [17] officiis satisfacere. [18] 'their.'

SECTION 33.

Philip's adherents, supported || by this assurance, made every exertion to dispose the people of Athens in favour of the king; but Demosthenes, who saw through his designs, summoned all the force of his eloquence in support of the Thracian cities [1]. He demonstrated to the assembly [2], that Philip's letter [3] was an actual declaration of war. That the king by violating the peace had long [4] shown, that he had no other view than to watch [5] the moment, when he might fall upon the Athenians unprepared [6]. He inveighed, as usual, against the levity and supineness of the people, who, sitting at home at ease, thought only of their amusements, while danger hovered over their country, like a cloud of hail [7]

over a rich[8] harvest. His speech, the fourth of those against Philip and on[9] the state of the Chersonesus, induced the Athenians to fit out a fleet of a hundred and twenty galleys; but[10] the proposal of the patriotic orator to entrust the chief command to an experienced and worthy commander † was not attended to, ° and the worthless[11] Chares was chosen to conduct the fleet to the Chersonesus. (B. C. 340.)

[1] 'that might be supported *(subvenitur)*.' [2] monet in concione. [3] 'that by this letter the king had, &c.' [4] See D. *pridem*. [5] aucupari. [6] inopinantem (imprudentem) opprimere. [7] grandines. [8] lætus. [9] 'of those which——he spoke.' [10] 'but he demanded in vain, that,' &c. [11] *appos.* 'a man *(homo)* of all the most unfit *(indignissimus)* for such an office *(negotium)*.'

Section 34.

But Chares, ° who in his late campaign had been an object of scorn and dread not to the enemies, but to the allies of Athens, on account of his rapacity, and every kind of unbridled excess[1], found the gates of Byzantium shut. The inhabitants of this great city seemed to fear the Macedonian army, encamped around their walls, much less than the auxiliary troops led by Chares. On his return, that commander was beaten by Amyntas, in a naval engagement near Chalcedon; and the Athenians, through the incapacity of their leader, were now conquered on the very same element[2], on which, for more than one generation[3], they had fought victoriously, even against superior forces.

[1] libidines. [See D. *cupido*.] [2] eodem belli genere. [3] multis annis.

Section 35.

At last, however, they chose Phocion as their commander, ° a man, who in courage, wisdom, and in every virtue belonging to a citizen, surpassed all his contemporaries[1]. He had already given brilliant proofs of his eminent qualities[2], especially in the campaign in which he drove the Macedonians out of Eubœa; but his ° natural modesty[3]

withheld him from urging his claims[4] to the command °of the army, though no one deserved it so well[5]. He was educated in the academy, after the models of strict virtue, and had learnt the art of war[6] under Chabrias. He tempered however the boldness ‖of that general with prudence, °while he imitated his humanity. He bore the hardships of war like a common soldier[7]. Under no pleasing exterior[8] he concealed a humane and benevolent heart. When he addressed the people, his diction[9] was simple, concise[10], and without rhetorical ornament[11]. He knew the follies and excesses of his fellow-citizens, as well as the degeneracy of the age; he never flattered the people, and was[12] indifferent to their favour, which the public orators[13] courted by the lowest artifices. He sought not posts of honour, but[14] he never failed his country, °when it called him to the command of the army. Five and forty times was he chosen commander-in-chief, generally in his absence, always without his wish[15]. He constantly counselled[16] peace; for he was convinced that the Athenians no longer possessed[17] the spirit which[18] animated their forefathers, under Miltiades, Themistocles, and Cimon, in the glorious conflict for their country.

[1] omnes qui tunc erant. [2] virtutis suæ: *virtus* being, in a commander-in-chief, not *valour* only, but the aggregate of all the talents that go to make up a great general. [3] either *verecundia* (in so far as he wished to manifest to others the respect which he believed to be their due): or *modestia* (if he did not desire to assume to himself more than, of right, belonged to him): or *pudor* (if he would do nothing inconsistent with the honorable feelings of a noble mind).
[4] arripere. [5] 'of which he was deserving beyond other men *(ceteri)*:' or 'of which no man was more deserving.'—quod *meruerat* would imply that no one else had *done* so much to deserve it: *dignus erat*, denotes his *fitness for command*, without reference to his former services. [See D. *mereri*.]
[6] militiæ (rei, *or* disciplinæ, militaris) rudimenta deponere. [7] miles gregarius. [8] sub corpore invenusto——latebat—. [9] oratio.
[10] pressus. [11] tenuis. [12] 'since it was of no importance to him to win the favour of the people, which most public speakers——courted.'
[13] in concione dicentes. concionatores. [14] 'being called——he never failed.' deesse reipublicæ. [15] nunquam petitum (if the phrase *imperium deferre* is used). [16] suasorem esse. [17] eâ virtute esse.
[18] 'with which their forefathers——had fought *(dimicare)*.'

Section 36.

He now, however, accepted the command of the army appointed for the protection of the Thracian cities. He †had not yet reached[1] the Propontis, †when Philip sought to take the city of Byzantium by surprise. The Macedonians had already, on a stormy night, mounted the ramparts, when[2] they were beat back by the brave citizens with great loss. °And now Phocion made his appearance[3] with the Athenian fleet. Byzantium[4] opened its gates, and welcomed the reinforcement sent to its relief. The Macedonians soon perceived the presence[5] of this brave general, who[6] repelled their attacks, assaulted their lines[7], and at last compelled them to raise the siege of Byzantium and Selymbria. Phocion †was not content ‖ with this success[8]; °he delivered many cities from the yoke of the Macedonians, paid his army out of the contributions levied from Philip's possessions, and once more[9] carried the terror of the Athenian name into the heart of the hereditary states of the Macedonian king, whose power[10] on the European coasts of the Hellespont, and in the Thracian Chersonesus, was now quite annihilated.

[1] quum nondum attigisset, &c. The other form, *nondum attigerat, quum—conatus est* is only used when the *sudden, unexpected* occurrence of an event is to be intimated. It may be used in the next propositions: the Macedonians had, &c. [2] This proposition is to be connected with the following one. [3] appellere. [4] *not* Byzantium. [5] *præsentia* may be used here. [6] A new proposition. 'for he, &c.' [7] ultro inferre signa [signa extra vallum proferre. Liv. 22. 29]. [8] eâ re gestâ. [9] tunc etiam. [10] copiæ.

Section 37.

The king[1] shunned, in all probability, to hazard[2] his military fame against this skilful and brave[3] general. Glad was he therefore to receive an embassy from the Scythian prince, Atheas, who, being sorely pressed by his neighbours

the Istrians (now called Servians[a]), promised to make Philip the heir[4] of his territory south of the Danube, if he would render him assistance in the expulsion of his enemies. The king immediately sent a division of his army to the Danube, °but before it[5] arrived, the war was ended. The Istrians had lost their leader by a sudden death; † had been attacked by Atheas, °and driven back into their own country.

[1] 'to the king, who feared (for nothing is more probable) to hazard his military fame——, came very opportunely the embassy from the Scythian king, Atheas; for he, &c.' [2] objicere. [3] skilful and brave, tantus. [4] in (regni) successionem adoptare. [5] *pron. rel.*

SECTION 38.

The subtle barbarian[1] received the Macedonians with scorn, °and even † denied that he had craved their assistance. The Scythians, °said he, needed not the help of Macedonia, nor their king an heir; he had a son of his own, and his people surpassed the Macedonians in valour. Philip, ‖upon this[2], sent an embassy to the Scythian prince, and demanded an indemnification in money[3]; but Atheas answered, that his land was unfruitful, that he[4] and his subjects possessed no riches, that he could offer nothing worth the acceptance of so great a king, and that it would be less disgraceful to give nothing than to give a little. Philip, ‖upon this[5], marched towards the territory of the Barbarians. °Another embassy[6] however went before[7] him with the following message: He had made a vow, during the siege of Byzantium[8], to erect a statue to Hercules at the mouth of the Danube, and now requested that, having come as a friend, the Scythians would allow him free[9] passage. *Atheas sent him for answer, that he might[10] send the statue, that he himself would take charge of its erection and preservation; but that should he erect it without the consent of the Scythians, he would pull it down after Philip's march

[a] Serbii.

home, and turn [11] the metal into heads [12] for arrows. Philip, upon this answer, began his march, and being intent on booty, laid waste the pastures and woods of the country, and defeated the Scythians, whose undisciplined valour could not withstand the Macedonian phalanx. Twenty thousand prisoners, and as many horses, were the booty of the conquerors: neither gold nor silver was to be found. On his return home, he was attacked by the Triballi, who inhabited what is now called the province of Bulgaria. His horse was run through by a spear, and he himself severely wounded; but his son Alexander covered him with his shield, and his body-guard carried him off in safety. Alexander, ‖ upon this, took the command of the army, and beat back the enemy; but the booty taken from the Scythians was lost.

[1] at barbarus ille astutus. [2] his auditis. [3] impensæ pecuniæ restitutio. [4] nec—nec. [5] quibus derisus. [6] legati. [7] præmitti. [8] dum Byzantium obsidet. (*pres.* after *dum*. Excurs. ii. Remark.) [9] pacatus. [10] jubere. [11] vertere in. [12] aculei.

Section 39.

While the king was fighting in the inhospitable wastes of this country, his partizans were occupied in exciting fresh disturbances in Greece. Though the attack on the cities of Thrace had failed, Philip, from his accurate knowledge [1] of the character of the Athenians, had anticipated that [2] their exertions [3] in defence of Thrace would speedily abate, if he should display a spirit of concession [4]. This time, however, he was mistaken; for the republic had at last resolved, in consequence of the often-repeated suggestions of Demosthenes, to convert the money appointed for the expenses of the theatre, to the support of additional forces for prosecuting the war, both by sea and land, against the common enemy. He † received timely intelligence of these preparations [5]; ° and cunning and bribery, the main-springs [6] of Philip's policy, were employed with redoubled energy [7].

At the very time when the Athenians imagined him completely entangled in distant warfare, he was more actively at work than ever [8], and found the tools [9] of his ambitious projects [10] in the very heart of the republic, defeating by their decrees the patriotic views of that orator, in the openest manner. He † had conceived the design of setting on fire the Athenian docks, ° and for the execution of that pernicious project, he had bribed a man who had been banished from Athens for his crimes. Antiphon, so the wretch was called [11], stole unperceived into the Piræus, and every thing was ready for the execution of his project, when he was discovered by the vigilance of Demosthenes, and brought before the assembly of the people. Philip's hirelings, especially the orator Æschines, spoke in behalf of the traitor. Æschines represented the proceeding of Demosthenes as a violation of the freedom of citizens, and called his entering by force into the dwelling of Antiphon [12], an attack on the fundamental laws [13] of Athens, according to which, the house of every citizen was to be his inviolable sanctuary. * Antiphon † was discharged without even the form of trial, ° but Demosthenes brought his accusation before the Areopagus. This court of justice, the authority of which had been justly respected for centuries, ordered the traitor to be arrested, and extorted from him by torture the confession of his monstrous [14] project. He was executed, but history has spared the baseness of Philip.

[1] noscere : *not* novisse. [2] fore ut. [3] vires intendere ad. [4] facilem animum ostendere. [5] 'things.' [6] To be translated by a rel. sent. quibus semper plurimum valebat in consiliis publicis. [7] 'with even more energetic *(acer)* zeal.' [8] 'nor was he ever more intent on the prosecution of his plans, than when the Athenians saw him, &c.' occupatum esse re gerendâ. [9] adjutores. [10] cupiditas. [11] 'this wretch (homo iste nefarius), whose name was Antiphon.' *Gen.* -ntis. [12] 'and whereas *(quod)* he had forced himself into *(irrumpere)*—he had violated the, &c.' *impugnare*. [13] antiquissima jura. [14] atrox, immanis.

Section 40.

It was now the time for the spring-meeting of the Amphictyons at Delphi[1]. By Philip's contrivance, his own hirelings were nominated at Athens as delegates to this council; the principal business of which was[2], to repair and adorn the temple. The consecrated gifts[3], that had been scattered °throughout every °part of Greece, by the sacrilege of the Phocians, were collected, and restored to the sacred place[4]. The Athenians sent some golden shields with this superscription[5], "Won from the Medes and Thebans, †when they fought against Greece." These shields were hung up in the temple †without the usual ceremony of consecration[6]. *The Thebans †complained, °and were[7] favorably heard by the Amphictyons; upon which Æschines stood up, and defended his fellow-citizens. *He †was interrupted[8] by a Locrian from Amphissa, who reproached the Athenians with having countenanced the sacrilege of the Thebans, and maintained, that both honour and duty called upon the Amphictyons[9] no longer to tolerate the execrable[10] name of Athens in that august assembly. Æschines, with irresistible eloquence, †vindicated[11] his native city, and retorted[12] on the citizen of Amphissa his reproach against Athens.

[1] 'in the spring, when the day approached on which the Amphictyons were accustomed to assemble at Delphi, Philip had contrived *(efficere)* that—— should be named *(legari)*, &c.' [2] cura posita est in aliquâ re. [3] vasa sacra. [4] fanum. [5] titulus. [6] *partic.* placed *before* the verb. [7] 'as the Amphictyons appeared to favour the Thebans.' [8] 'but a certain Locrian from Amphissa *(Amphissæus)* interrupted him speaking, &c.'—interpellare. [9] 'the Amphictyons, admonished by honour *(pudor)* and duty, could no longer suffer, &c.' [10] exsecratus. [11] causam sustinere. [12] ultro eâ occasione abusus, criminationem—— retorsit.

Section 41.

Amphissa had been built on the ruins of the cities of Crissa and Cirrha, which had been destroyed three hundred

years before, in the First Sacred War, on account of having plundered the Delphic temple. By a decree of the Amphictyons, the lands belonging to these cities had been consecrated to Apollo, and their cultivation forbidden, under terrible imprecations. Notwithstanding which, this fruitful territory was again brought into cultivation by the inhabitants of Amphissa, and adorned with the finest villages and country-seats. The forbearance[1] of the Amphictyons, perhaps even the necessities of Delphi, had allowed the cultivation, and time itself seemed to sanction works, by which Amphissa had transformed the plain of Crissa into a blooming garden. This[2] tract of land †lay just under the rising ground, on which the temple stood, and in sight of the assembled council. Æschines, °upon this occasion, †represented the meritorious enterprise of the Amphissæans as an execrable robbery of the property of the gods[3]. "Look down," said he[4], "ye venerable guardians of religion[5], on yonder plains; °behold those lands, of old consecrated to the gods, and now seized upon and profaned by the inhabitants of Amphissa; °behold those innumerable edifices, which cover the sacred ground; and yonder harbour, which our predecessors with justice †destroyed[6], °but which these men have restored and fortified." He then[7] read to them the response of the oracle, devoting[8] these lands to eternal desolation[9], and concluded[10] his vehement speech with terrible imprecations[11] against the flagitiousness of the Amphissæans.

[1] 'and this, either through the forbearance (*humanitas*) of the Amphictyons, or because the interests of Delphi required it (*obl. utis.*), had been permitted to the Amphissæans: nay, even time appeared to sanction the labour by which the Crissæan plain had been transformed into a most blooming garden.' to sanction,—compehare. [2] 'as this tract-of-land was immediately (*ipse*) under the temple, in sight of the assembled council, Æschines said, whilst he represented——, "Look down," &c.' [3] meritum Amphissæorum invidiâ onerare exsecrabilis sacrilegii. [4] inquit. [5] 'ye venerable (*gravissimi*) men, who protect religion.' religiones pie tueri. [6] portic. [7] 'after these words.' [8] relat. aut. [9] in perpetuum vastus esse jubere. [10] finem imponere. [11] 'after having uttered imprecations (*part.*),' diras imprecari.

Section 42.

Had not the council of the Amphictyons consisted for the most part of the hirelings of Philip, it is probable[1], that the religious zeal[2] of Æschines would have made little[3] impression on the assembly; ° but the secret commission[4] of the Macedonian † to excite fresh disturbances in Greece, ° and by these means to hasten the accomplishment of his design on the freedom of Greece, drew from this assembly the terrible sentence of destruction, and[5] Locris now experienced the same fate, which shortly before had befallen Phocis. On the very day following, the Amphictyons, attended by the inhabitants of the city of Delphi, marched down into the plains; every dwelling, every plantation † was destroyed, the fruit-trees cut down, ° and the most cruel desolation pervaded this fertile district. The sentence was executed without resistance[6]; but on their way back to Delphi the destroyers[7] were suddenly attacked by the Amphissæans, routed, and pursued even into the city itself. This was the commencement of the Third Sacred War. The Amphictyons conferred on Philip, at that time on his return from his expedition to Scythia, the chief command of the army, which was raised for the purpose of punishing the outrage committed by the city of Amphissa. * Philip marched directly to Greece. (B. C. 338.)

[1] haud scio an. [2] hæc tanta, propter religionem nata, ira. [3] *not* parum. [4] ' but, as the Macedonian had privately commissioned these, to forward his design of oppressing the liberty of Greece, by exciting fresh disturbances, it came to pass that the Amphictyons pronounced the terrible sentence of destruction *(vastatio)*.' [5] ita. [6] sine pugnâ; sine cæde. [7] vastatores patriæ.

Section 43.

Though Philip needed neither a considerable army, nor the assistance of his allies, to punish the city of Amphissa, nevertheless he summoned Thebes and the states of the Peloponnesus to vindicate, with their united forces, the rights of the

Delphic god. The Thebans sent only a small band; for[1] they probably saw through Philip's aim. Lacedæmon took no part in the war; but Athens sent ten thousand mercenaries to the assistance of Amphissa. This force † was too weak[2] to withstand the arms of the king, by whom it was completely beaten and dispersed. But though Amphissa was conquered, it was not destroyed; for Philip found, that the harvest, which he had long waited for, was at length ripe. The object of the expedition was attained, the authority of the Delphic god vindicated, and the sentence of the Amphictyons executed; but Athens, by sending help to the Amphissæans, had thrown down the gauntlet[3] to the king. Ambassadors, it is true, || were dispatched, in order to propose a suspension of hostilities[4], but[5] couriers were sent at the same time[5] to all the states of Greece, exhorting them to combine against the threatening subjugation[6]. Megara, Eubœa[7], Lemnos, Corinth, Achaia, and, after long deliberation, Thebes also, entered into the league[8].

[1] 'who, it is probable, had seen through:' *acc.* with *infin.* perspectum habere. [2] 'since this force was too weak to withstand——, it was completely beaten, &c.' [3] 'had challenged the king to battle.' [4] de induciis. [5] quum simul. [6] servitus. [7] Eubœi. [8] fœdere se obstringere.

SECTION 44.

Philip at length[1] threw off the mask[2], and occupied the fortress of Elatæa, which commanded the entrance from Phocis[3] into Bœotia, with a strong garrison. Thus was the way opened for him to receive[4] reinforcements from Thessaly and Macedonia; and from this position he could march into Bœotia and Attica without obstruction, and he was only two days' march[5] from Athens, the seat of the war. The news, that Elatæa was taken possession of by Philip[6], arrived at Athens late in the evening, and spread universal consternation. The citizens had already left the forum for their houses[7], and the magistrates were at their

evening-meal in the Prytaneum, when [8] a courier brought the alarming intelligence. In an instant all the streets were crowded with people; astonishment [9] and alarm were on every face [10]; the forum was emptied, and the wooden stalls of the shop-keepers burnt. At break of day the people † were assembled, ° and the Prytanes in their places [11], when the Archon publicly announced the sad [12] news. Upon this [13] the herald, according to custom, ° stepped forth, and † asked, with a loud voice, who [14] would mount the Suggestum. No one † answered, till at last, after repeated calls, Demosthenes arose. This [15] consummate orator awakened in the despairing minds of his fellow-citizens, hope and courage [16]; he demonstrated to them, that Philip had occupied Elatea only from apprehension as to the intentions of the Thebans; he acknowledged, that he had many adherents in Thebes, but maintained, that the greater part of the people harboured sentiments hostile [17] towards the king. "Now is the time [18]," ° said he, "to enter into close alliance with this state, to forget all former quarrels, and with united forces to march against the enemy of the freedom of Greece. Let the contest between Greeks be the contest for glory [19]; the contest with Philip [20] must be carried on to save our country from the disgrace of a foreign yoke."

[1] dum hæc aguntur. [2] deponere personam eam, quam *quis* adhuc induit. [3] 'which closed the entrance to those who journey *(iter facere)* from Phocis to Bœotia.'—aditum claudere. [4] 'by which he might, &c.' [5] duorum dierum iter abesse. [6] 'when ‖ this intelligence *(res)* was announced at Athens late in the evening *(sero diei)*, sudden consternation seized the minds of all.' [7] 'were gone from *(de)* the forum, each man to his house.' [8] To be connected with the following proposition: 'but when this news became known, in an instant, &c.' extemplo; eodem vestigio. [9] stupor. [10] 'the countenance of all men manifested, &c.' præ se ferre. [11] 'when the Prytanes had taken their places.' [12] tristis. [13] From here to arose, one period: 'quo facto, quum, &c.' arose—principal sentence. [14] numquis. [15] is, ut erat insignis orator. [16] animos ad spem et alacritatem erigere. [17] alienis animis esse. [18] nunc esse faciendum, ut. [19] gloriæ dimicatio. [20] 'that they must fight ‖ with Philip for the salvation of their country, that it might not be reduced to a disgraceful servitude to a Barbarian.'

SECTION 45.

"Let your forces," said he [1], "with animating confidence, "march to Eleusis; show the Thebans, and all Greece, that you are prepared to oppose that resolute courage, which you inherit from your ancestors, against the enemy of freedom [2]. Send ‖ without delay delegates to Thebes; remind that °republic of the services which our ancestors rendered it; °tell their citizens, that Athens has forgotten all differences with the Greeks [3], and will never abandon the cause of their common country. Offer [4] °to this state your disinterested [5] services, and support it [6] with all activity and strength." This proposal [7] was received with universal approbation; the people resolved to send delegates to Thebes. Demosthenes was chosen for this purpose, and [8] the citizens of that republic thankfully †accepted the assistance of Athens. The Thebans prepared themselves with speed, and in a short time also the army of the Athenians made its appearance, to which only insignificant additions were made from the other allies. Sparta remained quite inactive. The number [9] of the soldiers of the confederacy, who were now [10] destined to fight the last battle for the freedom of their native country amounted to thirty thousand men. Led on [11] by able generals, they might, by strenuous exertion, have gained the victory over the Macedonian; but the Athenians had chosen the insignificant Lysicles, and the despicable Chares [12]; the Thebans, Theagenes, for their commanders; all °three [13] were tools of different factions [14], and the general of the Thebans was even suspected of treachery.

[1] 'at last, with animating *(lætus)* confidence, "Let your forces," said he, ——, &c.' [2] 'with that *(tantus)* bravery *(fortitudo)* which is innate to you, to oppose your bodies to the enemy of freedom.' [3] 'every difference by which they were divided from Greeks.'—distractum esse cum aliquo. [4] polliceri. [5] integre, *adv.* [6] 'the Thebans.' [7] oratio. [8] To be connected with the following proposition :—'the Thebans, thankfully accepting *(amplecti)* the support of the Athenians, quickly armed themselves, &c.' [9] 'the soldiers ‖ of the confederate states,

which were now to fight *(partic. fut.)*——made up the number of 30,000.'
[10] jam. [11] 'if these had been led——it might have happened that, &c.'
[12] *gen.* Charetis. [13] qui omnes. [14] factionum studiis parere.

Section 46.

Philip knew[1] the character[2] of his antagonists. He had marched from Phocis to Bœotia, and encamped[3] his army, consisting of two-and-thirty thousand tried warriors, in the plain of Chæronea[4]. Here, in sight of a temple of Hercules, from whom he boasted his descent, he chose the field of battle. The army of the Greeks marched forwards to the river Thermōdon. Ancient oracles[5] had foretold, that the banks ‖ of this river would be the theatre of a terrible disaster to Greece; this prediction was designedly spread, perhaps invented[6], to animate the courage of the Macedonians. On °the morning[7] of the fatal day, which was to decide the destiny of Greece, the hostile armies, before sunrise, placed themselves in order of battle. The king stood on the right wing; opposite him the Athenians. Alexander, then but nineteen years old, commanded the left against the Thebans. The centre of each army was occupied by the auxiliaries. The Athenians began[8] the battle. With that matchless[9] valour, which the sense of shame[10], the desire of glory, thirst for vengeance, and, above all, the love of freedom, inspire[11], they rushed upon Philip's phalanx. The right wing and the centre ‖ of the Macedonian[12] °army soon gave ground, broken by the impetuosity of their enraged adversaries. But while the Athenians were pursuing ‖ these °divisions, the Thebans were overpowered by Alexander. The sacred band[13], the pupils of Pelopidas and the companions of his victories, were entirely cut to pieces[14]; the ranks of the Thebans were broken, and their confusion completed[15] by the Thessalian cavalry, whom Alexander sent[16] into the midst of them. Philip stood with a division of his phalanx in reserve[17]. Lysicles, instead[18] of turning the enthusiasm

of his army to advantage, and attacking this phalanx on the flank, wasted its energies in pursuit of the fleeing. Philip † saw this fatal error [19], ° and quickly occupied a rising-ground that was near. From this position, advancing in a solid body [20], he attacked, with irresistible [21] force, the wavering ranks of the Athenians, who stormed against the phalanx with blind confidence, and without order. More than a thousand found their death by the spears of the Macedonians; two thousand were taken, the rest saved themselves by precipitate flight. Demosthenes was one of the first of those who threw away their shields. The king gave immediate command to stop the bloodshed; for he now [22] looked upon the Greeks as [23] his subjects, and spared them for another purpose, which we shall unfold in the sequel.

[1] noscere; *not* novisse. [2] vitia. [3] 'with 32,000 tried men, he encamped.' men here = *soldiers*. [4] ad Chæroneam locis campestribus. [5] 'on whose banks, as ancient oracles had foretold *(canere)*, a terrible disaster would befal Greece.' [6] 'this prediction, whether *(sive)* true, or invented, was purposely spread, that, &c.' [7] 'on that fatal day, on which the fate of all Greece was at stake *(agi)*.' [8] *præs. histor.*, and so to the end of the description. [9] tantus——quantus—vel—vel—vel imprimis. [10] pudor. [11] 'could inspire *(excitare)*.' [12] 'of the Macedonians.' centre,—media acies. [13] 'the sacred band, who had been the pupils *(discipuli)* of Pelopidas, and the companions *(socii)* of his victories, &c.' [14] ad internecionem cædere. [15] consummare. [16] 'sent by Alexander.' cavalry,—equites. [17] in subsidiis. [18] 'these Lysicles took no notice of *(omittere)*, whereas, in such enthusiasm *(alacritas)* of his men, he ought *(imperf.)* to have attacked them on the flank, and, &c.' [See P. I. Diff. of Idiom, 116. p. 188.] [19] 'this thing.' [20] agmine quadrato. [21] summus. [22] jam. [23] loco.

SECTION 47.

The Athenians [1] now petitioned for the bodies of the slain. This petition was immediately granted. When [2] the banquet was ended, which, according to the custom of those times, was given after a victory, Philip † visited the field of battle. He and the companions of his victory were decked with garlands, and in the excess of his exultation at the prosperous issue [3] of a project, which it had

taken him two-and-twenty years to execute, he made himself merry over the slaughtered Athenians. The orator Demades, who was among the prisoners, † had the spirit[4] to rebuke ‖ this ignoble exultation[5]. "Why dost thou act the part of Thersites," said he, "when fate has assigned thee[6] ° that of Agamemnon?" Philip † felt the justice ‖ of the rebuke, ° and was so far from resenting the frankness[7] of the Athenian, that he granted to him, and to all his fellow-citizens, freedom without ransom. With regard to the conduct of Philip ‖ after this battle, the historian Justin says[8], that he took the utmost pains to suppress his exultation, and that he exhibited the opposite qualities of moderation and compassion; contrary to his custom, he even forbore to offer sacrifice[9], and remained so completely master of himself, that nobody recognized ° in him the conqueror[10].

[1] 'to the Athenians, asking ° it, the bodies of the slain were given up for burial.' [2] 'after *(ex)* that banquet which——had been given, when Philip, decked with garlands, with the companions of his victory decorated in the same manner, visited the field of battle *(per ea loca, ubi prælium fuerat, commessationem facere)*, he, elated with——jested, &c. *(verbis contumeliosis prosequi)*.' [3] 'with the so great success of the things which he had undertaken two-and-twenty years ° ago.' [4] audere *(partic.)*.
[5] inhumanitas. [6] cui *(subj.)* [7] 'this frankness.'
[8] ait. [9] solita sacra facere. [10] ut nemo victorem sentiret.

Section 48.

The news ‖ of the loss of the battle of Chæronea[1] spread consternation and the deepest sorrow throughout Athens; but the recollection of their ancient renown soon returned to ° this brave[2] people, and as a siege was to be dreaded, it was resolved to remove the women and children, who together with the images and ornaments of the temples, were to be brought into the Piræus. All men and youths able to bear arms, slaves and foreigners, were summoned[3] to the defence of the city; even those who had been punished with the loss of civil rank[4], were to be restored to their former rights, and to the privileges of citizens, if they took

up arms for their country. The walls of Athens were repaired, and Demosthenes defrayed the expense out of his own fortune. Phocion was called to the chief command over this general levy, °and the unfortunate Lysicles, whose unfitness [5] reflected more disgrace [6] on those who had chosen him than upon himself, was, on the proposal of the orator Lycurgus, condemned to death. These °measures might [7] have exasperated the conqueror, and °voices were not wanting in his council, urging him to vengeance against the city, whose inhabitants, for twenty years, had thwarted his projects, when on the very point of being accomplished; but Philip, who well knew the importance of this city [8], said [9] †to those who wished for its destruction: "Have I [10] done so much for glory, and shall I now annihilate [11] its fountain?" Through Antipater and his son Alexander, he offered peace, on the following conditions: They were to send delegates to the assembly of all the states of Greece, which should be held next spring, at the Isthmus of Corinth, to settle [12] the number of men which each state should furnish towards the Persian expedition; they were to surrender the island of Samos, where their fleet was usually stationed, and which was the principal bulwark of their maritime possessions [13]. In return, the undisturbed possession of Attica, and of their hereditary constitution [14], should be secured to them. °The government of the city of Oropus, for the possession of which Athens had long contended with Thebes, was to be surrendered to the Athenians.

[1] 'when the news of the defeat sustained at Chæronea, was brought to Athens.' [2] *superlat.* [3] evocati sunt. [4] civitatem adimere. [5] vitia. [6] crimen. [7] quæ res poterant: not potuissent. *See* Excurs. vii. [8] magnum momentum est in aliquâ re. [9] inquit. [10] "egone qui——, nunc ipse——?" (tantas res gessisse.) [11] obruere. [12] 'to settle how many——,' [13] ora maritima. [14] respublica, qualem a majoribus suis accepissent *(old. or.)*.

Section 49.

These conditions[1] occasioned an embassy to the Macedonian king, with commission to conclude the peace. Thebes[2] was not treated so generously. The earlier connections[3] and close alliance of that state with Philip seemed to justify stronger measures. He altered the constitution; the power of the people was abolished, and Philip's adherents, who, shortly before the battle of Chæronea, had been banished, were invested with the first honours of the state. A Macedonian garrison was placed in the ancient city of Cadmus, to support the regulations of the new rulers. Philip was now evidently master of all Greece; and the battle of Chæronea put an end to || the ancient liberty of the Greeks[4]. Philip[5] had exerted himself with restless ardour to obtain, either by intrigue or fighting, th sovereignty over a whole range of states, and over a brave people, who, however, having been always in a state of discord among themselves, and weakened by internal conflicts for precedence, could only, when united under one banner, achieve the great enterprise, that Philip had long projected, the conquest of Persia.

[1] 'after these conditions were offered, an embassy was sent,' &c.
[2] Thebani haud æquam fortunam experti. [3] 'Philip, being of opinion *(ratus)* that he ought to adopt severer measures || against this state *(gravius statuere de)*, on account of the former connection *(necessitudo)* [o] between them, changed the constitution *(abl. abs.)*, destroyed the popular party *(populares)*, and gave to his dependents,' &c. [4] This clause, as it precedes the one before it in the order of thought, should stand before it in Latin. [5] 'with restless ardour Philip had laboured to obtain, either by craft or by force, the sovereignty over those states, which, although they were brave, yet being divided by perpetual discord, and weakened by internal conflicts for precedence, could not, unless *(nisi—non)* united under one sovereignty, achieve the great enterprise, which he had long projected *(moliri)*. He wished to conquer the kingdom of the Persians.'

Section 50.

The great king had long beheld the increase of the Macedonian power with anxious eye. Artaxerxes Ochus,

under pretext of an alliance, had, several years before[1], sent an embassy to Philip, but only with the view of becoming acquainted with the regulations of the newly-created kingdom[2], and with its warlike forces. In the wars of Macedonia, °the ruler of Persia had given secret support to the Athenians in money; and it is notorious[3], that even Demosthenes had been stimulated[4] by considerable sums of Persian gold, in his zeal[5] against the plans of Philip. These instances of bribery had not remained concealed from the king of Macedonia; but he durst not hazard any attack on Persia, before the subjugation of Greece should be accomplished. He now began preparations for this great project, the execution of which he did not °however live to see.

[1] ante nonnullos annos. *plures* is always *comparative: complures* takes its place when there is no comparison. [2] imperium. [3] 'nor is it unknown.'—obscurum. [4] compelli. [5] in tantum studium.

SECTION 51.

In the following spring, the delegates of those states, that, after the victory of Chæronea, acknowledged[1] the sovereignty of Macedonia, assembled at Corinth. Philip had summoned them thither to settle[2] the number of soldiers which each state should furnish °towards the expedition against Persia[3]. Greece was therefore in a sort of feudal connection[4] with Macedonia. The king, who, even in his own hereditary kingdom, was not an absolute monarch, had not changed the ancient forms of the different republican constitutions; he only gave to the resolutions of the people that direction[5] which he judged most conducive to his purposes; and though, according to those principles, which are called the rights of conquest[6], he was able to give great compass to his own power, yet did he carefully avoid the appearance of suppressing liberty, and resolved to govern the Greeks with the same policy[7], by which he had

subdued them. He respected and guarded, as he had done in Macedonia[8], the rights of his new subjects; and, though the ascendancy of his genius might have justified him in placing himself at the head of the army[9], which he had determined to lead against Persia, yet would he nevertheless owe this pre-eminence only to the free choice[10] of the Greeks. When the states belonging to the Amphictyonic confederacy were assembled, Philip's orators drew a picture of all the wars, and acts of oppression[11], which Greece for more than a century had endured on the part of the Persians. Their acts of extortion[12] and aggression against the Greek colonies in Asia were circumstantially recorded[13], and[14] the feelings of all present at the council were appealed to against an enemy, whose aim for many generations had been the extinction of the Greek name. The orators observed a discreet silence, with regard to what had been more recently undertaken against the views of the king; their object was[15] to make out, that the war against Persia was for the interest of the nation, and this object they attained. The war was unanimously agreed upon; all the states of Greece, except Sparta, which took no part in the transactions at Corinth, and held subserviency to the views of Philip, as the badge of subjugation[16], united to set up an army against Persia. The honour of commander-in-chief was conferred on the king of Macedonia. The military force of this confederacy, including the foreign auxiliaries from Thrace and Illyria, amounted to two hundred thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. The preparations for this expedition were being forwarded with great activity, when the mighty projects of Philip's ambition were put a stop to by the dagger of an assassin.

[1] 'submitted themselves.' [2] descripturus auxilia, quæ, &c. [3] 'the Persians.' [4] conditio servilis. [5] moderari. [6] 'since he might use the rights of a conqueror.' [7] callidita. [8] 'as he was accustomed to do in Macedonia.' [9] jure—sibi poscere posse videri. [10] judicium. [11] vexationes. [12] 'the taxes

imposed *(imperare)* upon the Asiatic colonies of the Greeks, and the injuries inflicted ° on them.' [13] diligenter commemorare. [14] denique. [15] 'to convince the Greeks that the war against the Persians was the interest of their nation.' plurimum interesse. [16] quicquid institueret Philippus, tanquam in subactos institui.

SECTION 52.

The royal family had been long distracted by domestic discord. Olympias, Alexander's mother, had so often reproached the king with his licentious excesses[1], that at last he determined to repudiate[2] her. Alexander, already of a manly age, asserted in vain the rights of his injured[3] mother, and his own ° claims, which his father's ° contracting a new marriage would put in jeopardy. Philip, ‖ without[4] regarding the just claims of his son, united himself with Cassandra, the niece of Attalus, one of the commanders in the Macedonian army. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp; and the prince saw, with silent indignation[5], a feast[6], which, being occasioned by the repudiation of his mother[7], awakened in his heart apprehensions for the future. His discontent was further irritated by the imprudent arrogance of Attalus, who[8], intoxicated by the honour of being the queen's uncle, challenged the guests to pour out a libation to the gods, and implore them to grant happy fruits to the king's marriage[9] and legitimate heirs to the throne. "Wretch," cried[10] the prince, "dost thou consider me as illegitimate?" With these words, he flung his cup at Attalus, who returned the insult with equal violence. Tumult and confusion filled the hall in which the feast was celebrated; the king himself drew his sword against his son, but fell to the ground in trying to get at him; on which[11] Alexander cried out, with unpardonable mockery[12], "See[13], ye Macedonians, that is the king who is to conduct you to Asia. There he lies on his march from one table to another." ° Immediately ‖ after this occurrence, the prince[14] fled to the Illyrians, who

were in a state of insurrection against Philip; but this insurrection, by the prudence of the king, was soon suppressed: [o]and he even appeased[15] the prince, by assuring him, that his great and universally-acknowledged merit had not escaped his father's eye, who had given him indeed[16] many competitors for the throne, but at the same time the opportunity[17] to surpass them all in glory. The repudiated queen, Olympias, again made her appearance at court, with all the honours[18] due to her rank, and Alexander had already returned, when[19] Philip determined to celebrate the restoration of family concord[20] by a feast; he gave his favourite daughter, Cleopatra, in marriage to the brother of Olympias, who at that time reigned over Epirus.

[1] exprobrare alicui aliquid. libido. *sing.* [2] divortium facere cum. [3] læsus. [4] [P. I. 363, *c.*] rights of his son. ea quæ jure filius postulabat. [5] ira. [6] festum agi. [7] quum pulsam matrem causam haberet, tum. [8] 'since he——challenged.' [9] fecundum connubium. [10] clamans regius adolescens: "Perdite," inquit, &c. [11] tum. [12] impia ferocitas. [13] 'Lo! ye Macedonians, this is the king who is to conduct you to Asia! whilst he tries to walk *(tendere)* from one table to another, he falls down by the way *(corruit medius)*!' [14] ille. [15] *passive.* [16] quum. [17] copiam facere. [18] 'with such *(tantus)* distinction *(honorum significatio)* as suited her rank *(dignitas).*' [19] *a new proposition.* 'Finally, Ph. gave his favourite daughter Cleopatra in marriage to the brother of Olympias——and determined, at this nuptial feast, to celebrate, &c.' [20] restoration of concord,—reconciliata gratia.

Section 53.

The oracle at Delphi, which was consulted by the king concerning the expedition to Persia, had answered,—

"The victim's crown'd[1]; its end draws near; and soon its blood will flow."

The king considered this answer as boding success to his expedition, and determined, as soon as he should have settled his family affairs, to begin the war against the Persians. The marriage of the princess Cleopatra, and the festivities connected with it, drew[2] an innumerable multitude of strangers to the city of Ægæ, the theatre of its celebration.

Artists from all Greece, particularly from Athens, had proffered their services to adorn the feast; the cities subject to Macedonia, vied with each other in sending golden crowns, and other presents of great value; °and the poets extolled the king in their poems and plays, as already conqueror of Persia.

[1] In Greek: ἕστεπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων. *Latine*, 'Serta gerit taurus; jamque adstat, qui immolet illum.' [*or* 'Finis adest: tauro sua serta; adstatque sacerdos.'] [2] 'the marriage of Cleopatra was celebrated at Ægæ; and there an innumerable multitude assembled to witness it.'

SECTION 54.

On the day[1] after the general assembling, as Philip, in royal apparel, accompanied by his son and son-in-law, was repairing to the theatre, Pausanias, a young Macedonian nobleman, plunged a dagger into his breast. The king sank on the spot[2] lifeless to the ground. At the gate of the city, where a horse was held in readiness for flight, the assassin was seized by Perdiccas, and stabbed. His body was nailed to a cross; but on the following morning it was found crowned with a golden diadem, and singularly enough, though the fact is confirmed by the authority of Justin, the body of this malefactor was burnt on the same funeral-pile with °that of the king[3]. The queen Olympias, Alexander's mother, was universally held to be the instigator of °this murder. Her expulsion[4] from the royal throne, and the jealousy with which she persecuted her rival after the king's death; the murdering of Philip's daughter in the arms of her unhappy mother; the despair and death of this princess; the monument which Olympias ordered to be erected to the memory of the murderer; and lastly, °the circumstance, that she offered the dagger by which the king fell, to the Delphic god, †and ordered the name of Myrtalis, which she had borne before her marriage with Philip, to be engraven on it, justified[5] the supposition, that domestic

treason had caused the king's death. Pausanias was merely the instrument; he having, on a former occasion, very pardonably asserted the claims of the prince against the cruel insult of Attalus, was selected for this deed by the jealousy and pride of Olympias, perhaps also [6] by the fears of Alexander, on account of the new competitors [7] to the throne, which might spring from his father's second marriage. Even the sudden way in which the murderer was dispatched, and the possibility of his informing [8] against his accomplices prevented, seems to confirm the supposition, that a conspiracy existed, which was guided by a higher [9] hand. (B. C. 336.)

[1] 'on the following day after the day on which all had assembled for the games *(ad ludorum spectaculum)*, as Philip, &c.' [2] eodem vestigio. [3] cum rege. [4] 'for she herself had been expelled from——, and after the death of the king persecuted her rival with the greatest jealousy *(ira)*, and she murdered Philip's daughter in the arms *(complexus)* of her unfortunate mother, and compelled this [o] lady to hang herself *(suspendio vitam finire)*: in addition to this *(huc accedit)*, &c.' [5] 'by these circumstances was the suspicion of domestic treason justified.' [6] perhaps also, an. *Tac. Hist.* i. 7. an, ne altius scrutaretur. [7] 'lest new competitors for the throne should spring.' [8] designare. [9] superior quidam.

Section 55.

Philip died in the forty-seventh year of his age. He is the first prince whose actions History has accurately and circumstantially recorded. Brave [1] in battle, eloquent and versatile in negociations, pursuing his main purpose with unwearied perseverance, and without ever losing sight of it, altering his measures according to circumstances [2], with rare presence of mind and sound judgment, reserved [3] in the communication of his plans, and prompt in their execution, he had tranquillized, with rare success, his hereditary kingdom [4], or, rather, that which had been transferred to him by the choice of the people, when it was on the very brink of dissolution; he had brought its internal resources into order; he had subdued the rude tribes [5] of the Illyrians and Thracians,

and united them with his kingdom; he had extended the boundaries of his kingdom to the Ionian and Ægean Seas; he had raised a naval power[6]; he had ended the internal conflict of the Greek republics by the battle of Chæronea, and brought them all under his own sceptre; at the same time respecting[7] their ancient laws and constitutions, he had evinced his sovereignty[8], not by violent encroachments[9] on their internal relations, but only by exercising the chief command[10] over their warlike forces.

[1] From here to prompt in their execution, each proposition should have its own *verbum finitum*: 'Erat in pugnâ fortis, in agendo, &c.' [2] pro rerum statu mutare. [3] 'he concealed his adopted *(probatus)* plans, [o]and executed them quickly.' [4] 'by these arts he tranquillized ‖ the nearly broken up *(dissolutus)* kingdom, whether *(vel)* received by inheritance, or *(vel)* offered *(delatus)* to him by the people.'
[5] feroces nationes. [6] classem parare. [7] revereri.
[8] se dominum ostendere. [9] violenter mutare. [10] 'through the assumed command-in-chief.'

SECTION 56.

[o]This king, however, did not shine in the field of battle[1] only, or in political negociations; he was also the protector and promoter of the arts and sciences, that ennoble humanity[2]. The most eminent artists of the age, from every part of Greece, assembled at the court of Philip; their works adorned the temples and palaces of the Macedonian cities, and they themselves were rewarded with royal munificence. Animation was given[3] to the public festivals by the most exquisite players, poets, and orators of the times[4]; they were, on such occasions, next to the king, who was himself no mean proficient in oratory; he took their freedom of speech in good part, and honoured it even in his enemies, as in the orator Demades[5], after the battle of Chæronea. He evinced his estimation[6] of true merit[7], and his respect for men of distinguished learning, when he entrusted the education of his son to Aristotle of Stagira[8]. "Know" (thus he wrote[9] to that renowned philosopher), "that a son has

been born [10] to us. We thank the gods for this gift [11], and more fervently, because they have bestowed their gift in the age in which Aristotle lives. We are persuaded, that thou wilt make of him a prince worthy of his father and of his country [12]."

[1] field of battle——political negociations: res gerenda——res agenda: arma——consilia. [2] artes quæ humanitatem efficiunt. [3] celebrare. [4] 'who then existed *(esse)*.' [5] 'of which Demades——is an example.' [6] probare. [7] virtus. [8] 'in that he entrusted *(demandare)*——to Aristotle, he evinced, &c.' [9] 'for *(siquidem)* he wrote to this celebrated philosopher a letter with these words.' [10] esse susceptum. [11] 'for this gift we are in such wise *(ita)* grateful to the gods, that *(ut)* we attach the greatest importance to the circumstance *(plurimi faciendum existimare)*, that Aristotle lives.'

[12] 'that you will so instruct our son, that he, as a prince, may be worthy of —— &c.'

Section 57.

Under the government of Philip trade and agriculture, the sources [1] of national prosperity [2] and civilization, flourished; Macedonia was raised to the rank of a civilized state [3], and the hateful name of Barbarians no longer disgraced a [4] people, who were closely united with Greece by government, by language, by religion, by arts and sciences. In order to complete the portrait of this prince, it is necessary, however, to show its dark side. Thirst for conquest was his ruling passion, and to gratify this passion was his restless struggle. All means [5] of attaining this main object of his existence, were to him alike, and we have seen, in the course of our narrative, what artifices he employed in order, at first, to bring the little neighbouring states of Macedonia into subjection to himself, and then by the union of their several forces, to complete the conquest of Greece. Philip had no confidants [6]; he was not of a nature to trust any one; he possessed merely tools [7], qualified for the execution of his plans, and chosen at the moment when he needed them. He was capriciously [8] unjust and

cruel. The instances[9] of his justice, which History has preserved, sprang more from the desire of seeming, than of being just; his cruelty against his brothers and nearest relations may perhaps be justified by the necessity of securing the internal tranquillity of the state, by the removal of all claimants[10] to the throne. For not the right of birth, but talent and merit were considered as titles to the throne; this, particularly in Macedonia, was a source of domestic feuds and internal disturbances, which could be tranquillized only by the death of the leaders of the several parties. We touch in a cursory manner upon[11] the excesses[12] of Philip in drinking, and those vices which degrade the man lower[13] than the beast; merely observing, that these infamous[14] vices were the occasion of his death. *The success which almost constantly attended him[15], and the fame of his victories, were obscured[16] by °his intrigues, and by the crimes, which inflict eternal disgrace upon his memory.

[1] origo. [2] vitæ dignitas. *Cic. Man.* 6. 'et belli utilitatem et pacis *dignitatem*.' *Off.* i. 39. 'plena *dignitatis* domus.' [3] 'the Macedonians began to be reckoned amongst *(in numero esse)* civilized states.' [4] *prov.* [5] 'by what means he attained this *(rel.)*, was to him indifferent *(perinde esse ducere)*.' [6] 'Philip neither had confidence in any body *(fidem habere alicui)*, nor was he of such *(is)* a disposition, as to be susceptible of confidence *(fidem suscipere)*.' [7] 'he looked upon men as a tool with which *(instrumenti loco habere, quo)* &c.' [8] pro libidine. [9] 'whereas History has preserved——, he wished rather to seem, than to be just.' [10] 'all those who had claims.' [11] 'let it suffice to have touched lightly *(strictim tangere)*.' [12] 'how great were in him *(ille)* the excesses, &c.' [13] 'so that he is even lower than the beast.' [14] fœdus. [15] quâ comite perpetuâ usus est. [16] inquinare.

BOOK VII.

The Life and Character[1] *of Socrates.*

(From Moses Mendelssohn.)

Section 1.

Socrates[2], the son of the statuary Sophroniscus, and the midwife Phænarete, the wisest and most virtuous among the Greeks, was born at Athens, in the tribe of Alopece, in the fourth year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad. His father brought him up[3] to the business of a statuary, in which he must[4] have made no mean proficiency[5], if[6] the Clothed Graces, which stood upon[7] the wall at Athens, behind the statue of Minerva, were, as several affirm, of his workmanship. °The times in which a[8] Phidias, a Zeuxis, a Myron lived, could have conceded so distinguished a place to no middling work of art.

[1] [See D. ingenium.] *natura, ingenium,* and *indoles,* are each of them of a narrower signification than '*character,*' which is more nearly expressed by *ingenium* and *mores* together. [2] Socrates——natus est, in tribu Alopeceâ, parentibus, &c. [3] 'advised him to follow *(exercere);*' *or,* 'by the advice of his father *(abl. abs.)* he followed :'—se applicare ad ; incumbere in, &c. [4] necesse est ; debet ; *or* (still better), putandus est : *not* oportet *or* opus. *Oportet* denotes absolute or conditional *necessity;* or such *necessity* as strict duty or prudence imposes upon us. *Opus est* always involves the notion of a *purpose,* and hence is convertible with *usus. Debere* generally denotes a *duty,* complete or incomplete ; but is also used occasionally to denote a *necessary consequence ;* an *inference* (quis hoc homine scientior fuit, aut esse *debuit? Cic. Man.* 10.) ; it is then equivalent to *necesse est.* But in this meaning, Cicero, especially in his Orations, is partial to *putare, existimare.* e. g. *Rosc. Am.* 53. Videte quem in locum rempublicam venturam *putetis* (to what a condition the state *must* come). [5] multum proficere. [6] 'if indeed *(siquidem)* some state truly, that——.' [7] collocari : *not* stare, which is always opposed to some other *position,* or to *motion.* [8] 'at that time, which had °its Phidiases, &c.'

Section 2.

About the thirtieth year of his age, when °his father had been long dead, and he †was still[1], not from inclination, but

from necessity [2], carrying on the business of a statuary, Crito, an eminent Athenian, became acquainted [3] with him, and †observed his exalted talents, and judged that he would be of far more use to the human race by the labour of his brain than by that of his hands. †He took him [4] from his workshop, and introduced him to the sages of that time [5], that beauties of a higher order [6] might be held out to his view [7] and imitation. *As art teaches us to imitate life in the lifeless, to make stone [8] resemble man; so philosophy seeks to imitate the infinite in the finite [9], to bring the human soul, as near as is possible in this life, to the archetype of all beauty and perfection [10]. Socrates enjoyed the instruction and intercourse [11] of the most renowned men [12] in all °sciences and arts, among whom his scholars enumerate Archelaus, Anaxagoras, Prodicus, Evenus, Isimachus, Theodorus, and others.

[1] still,—usque. *Semper* represents time as a *space*, *usque* as a *continuing line*, having some particular beginning: *semper* = omni tempore: *usque* = nullo tempore intermisso; continenter. *Usque* marks *progression* in time: *semper*, a *continuing* state. [See D. semper.] [2] 'less °from being inclined to the art, than °from being compelled by poverty.' inclined,—propensus. [3] cognovit: *but better*, incidit in eum. [4] ex artis suæ officinâ evocare. [5] 'to those who were then *(tunc temporis)* considered wise.' *subj.* P. I. 476. Z. p. 346, *b*. [6] better, 'a higher *(sublimior)* kind of beauty;' though *sublimioris generis* might stand. [7] dare, præbere, proponere. [8] 'to fashion *(effingere)* stones into the figures of men.' [9] *infinitum* and *finitum* would convey no definite meaning in Latin: better *divinum* and *humana natura*. [10] 'to raise the human soul *(ingenium)* to as great a likeness of that highest and infinite beauty and excellence, as it can attain in this life.' *possit*, not *potest*, for the limits of human perfection are only *conceived* by the mind, not *objectively* defined. [11] consuetudo; usus domesticus; familiaritas, necessitudo. From *consuetudo* and *usus* arises *familiaritas*: from this, especially in consequence of mutual obligations, *necessitudo*. [12] summi homines.

SECTION 3.

Crito provided [1] him with the necessaries of life, and Socrates at first applied himself with much assiduity [2] to the study of the physical sciences, at that time much in vogue [3]. But he very soon [4] observed, that it was time to bring back

philosophy from the study of nature to that of man. *This is the way °which philosophy should always take[5]. She[6] must begin with the examination of outward objects, but at each step she must cast a reflex look on man, to whose true happiness all her pains should be directed[7]. As the motion of the planets, the constitution of the heavenly bodies, the nature of the elements, and so forth, have not the least direct[8] influence on our happiness[9], to study them is far from being the precise destiny[10] of man. Socrates °was the first, as Cicero says, °who placed philosophy, after she had been called down from heaven, in cities, introduced her into the dwellings of men, and constrained her to fix her view on their conduct. In the mean time[11], as[12] innovators usually do, he †went rather too far in an opposite direction, and sometimes spoke of the most sublime sciences in a manner so slighting, as not to become a wise judge of things.

[1] providere *aliquid*, to *provide* (frumentum, arma, &c.) : providere *alicui*, may always be considered elliptical : e. g. *rei militari*, *rei frumentariæ*, *alicui homini*, that is, *res necessarias*. Where *rem frumentariam* occurs, it is taken in the sense of *frumentum*. ['The dative expresses that *for* or in *reference to* which the care is taken.' *Held* ad Cæs. B. G. v. 8. Livy has 'provisa *aquatio*:' 44. 39.] Obs. That the first proposition is *logically subordinated* to the second. Excurs. viii.

[2] [See D. opera.] [3] vigere, florere, coli, valere apud plurimos.

[4] Definitions of time are usually placed at the beginning of a sentence : tempus est *alicujus rei*. [5] 'in this way philosophers ought *(oportebat)* always to have walked [P. I. 130.].' ingredi. [6] 'they :' referred to *philosophi*. [7] 'as one whose *(ut cujus)* life is to be made truly happy by their pursuits *(studia)*.' [8] ne aliquam quidem vim habere.

[9] vita beata. [10] 'it is not °the business of men to study, &c.'

[11] [See D. interea.] [12] id quod. In this construction the *id* gives emphasis to the relative clause, which therefore usually precedes the principal sentence, or is inserted in it.

Section 4.

At that time, as at all times with the multitude[1], there was in Greece a set of learned men[2] in great credit[3], who employed their talents[4] in supporting inveterate prejudices[5] and antiquated superstitions by all sorts of plausible arguments and subtleties. They gave themselves the honourable

name of Sophists [6], † which [7] their own conduct changed into a term of reproach [7]. They undertook the education of youth, and instructed them in public schools, as well as in private houses, in arts, sciences, morals, and religion, with universal approbation. †They knew that in democratic governments eloquence is prized above all things, that a free citizen willingly listens to political discussions [8], and that the appetite for knowledge in men of low abilities is best satisfied with tales; they never ceased [9] °therefore in their brilliant discourses to interweave with each other dazzling [10] eloquence, false politics [11], and inconsistent fables, so artfully, that the people listened to them with wonder, and rewarded them lavishly. With the priesthood they were on the very best terms, each party adopting the °prudential maxim, "Live, and let live [12]." As the tyranny of hypocritical pretenders could no longer hold the free mind of man [13] under the yoke, these seeming friends of truth [14] were suborned [15] to lead the mind astray into the paths of falsehood, to confound common sense [16], and annul all distinction between truth and error, right and wrong, good and bad, by their dazzling fallacies [17]. Their leading theoretical [18] axiom was, that every thing could be proved and disproved; and their practical maxim, to draw as much advantage as possible from the folly of others and their own superiority. This latter maxim, as may easily be supposed, they [19] kept from the people, and confided it only to their favorites, who were to become members of the craft; but the morals which they publicly [20] taught, were as pernicious [a] to the heart of man, as their politics [21] were [a] to the rights, freedom, and happiness [22] of the human race.

[1] not *plebs* (which is opposed to the *upper orders*): but *vulgus* or *multitudo* (opposed to the *wiser* and *better* sort). [2] genus philosophorum eorum, qui. [3] magnâ tum temporis auctoritate, &c. [4] id agere. [5] errores, falsæ opiniones. *præjudicium* is a *forensic* term for a *preliminary decree*. [6] i. e. *teachers of wisdom*. [7] nomen invidiam habet.

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[a] Use *two* verbs: æque——pervertere——, ac——evertere.

[8] 'hears persons speak about the state *(respublica)*.' [9] nunquam non facere aliquid. [10] i. e. artful, deceitful. [11] futiles de republicâ disputationes. [12] that is; 'to think only of their own interests, and not trouble themselves about the proceedings (*character*, mores) of others.' [13] libera hominum ingenia quum, &c.—*lib. hom. ing.* belongs, as object, both to the principal and to the accessory sentence, and therefore should stand before the conjunction: this is a *general* rule, though here and there exceptions may be found. [14] *antithesis between* honestatis——veritatis simulatores. [15] ad id subornatum esse, ut. [16] 'sound *(sanus)* opinions.' [17] argumentorum species ac fallacia. [18] ratione et doctrinâ hoc potissimum sequi videbantur, ut——arbitrarentur: vitâ autem et moribus, ut. [19] licet——tamen: *or* ut——ita. [20] *not* publice. [21] de republicâ præcepta. [22] *here* salus.

Section 5.

They [o]were crafty enough in implicating[1] the prevailing religious system with their own interests[2]; [o]for from this circumstance it not only required[3] resolution and heroism to check[4] their frauds, but even true friends[5] to virtue would scarcely venture on the task without the utmost caution. For there is no religious system[6] so corrupt, as not to give such a sanction to some[7], at least, of the duties of mankind, as friends of the human race[8] must respect, and as the reformer of morals, if he would not thwart his own aim, must leave untouched. *From doubt[9] in religious things to levity, from neglect of the outward service[10] to contempt of all service of God[11], the transition is usually easy, particularly to minds which are not under the dominion of reason, but of avarice, of immoderate ambition, or of sensuality. The priests of superstition depended too much || on this secret of their policy[12], and took refuge in it, as in an inviolable sanctuary, whenever they were attacked.

[1] Transl. by a principal verb. [2] suis implicare rationibus. [3] *not* genitive with *esse*. [4] 'if any one wished to, &c.' [5] amantissimi, studiosissimi. virtue,—honestum. ne——quidem nisi. [6] Dei colendi ratio. When a sentence begins with nihil est, nemo est, non est, &c., *enim* generally[a] stands in the third place. [7] aliquis: which is not used

[a] [nihil *enim* est in animis mixtum, &c. *Cic. Tusc.* 1, 27.]

in *dat.* or *abl. plural.* [5] humanus; generis humani amans. Use the construction explained in P. I. 400, (*c*). and Z. p. 255, top of page. [9] 'for it generally happens *(fit)* in religious *(sacer)* things, that the common people *(vulgus)*, and those especially *(maxime)*, whose minds are accustomed ——, when they have first doubted, become light-minded *(levis)*, and when, &c.' *quum* with subj. See Excurs. i. [10] religiones. [11] ipsa religio. [12] his insidiis.

SECTION 6.

Such were the difficulties and obstacles that stood in the way of Socrates, when[1] he formed the great resolution to spread virtue and wisdom among his fellow-men[2]. * He had on the one side[3] to overcome his own prejudices of education[4], to enlighten the ignorance of others, to combat sophistry, to endure malice, envy, calumny, and insults from his antagonists, to suffer poverty, to oppose established[5] power, and[6], what was the hardest of all, to disperse[7] the dark terrors of superstition. On the other side, he had[8] to spare the feeble minds of his fellow-citizens, to avoid[9] giving offence, and not to trifle away the good influence which even the most absurd forms of religion[10] have on the morals of the simple. All these[11] difficulties he surmounted with the wisdom °of a true philosopher[12], with the patience °of a saint, with the disinterested virtue °of a friend to mankind, with the resolution °of a hero, at the cost and with the loss of all[13] worldly goods and pleasures. Health, power, leisure, reputation, tranquillity, and at last life itself, he most willingly gave away[14] for the welfare of his fellow-men. So mighty were the effects wrought in him[15] by the love of virtue[16] and rectitude, and by an inviolable regard to his obligations towards the Creator and Preserver of all things, whom he knew[17] by the pure[18] light of reason in a living manner.

[1] quum magno animo decrevit. [2] cives *or* genus humanum. [3] hinc—hinc: *or* ut—ita. [4] ab institutione (disciplinâ) præceptæ opiniones. [5] inveteratus. [6] denique. [7] disjicere. [8] (ut)——ita cavere debebat ne. [9] *not* evitare. [10] religiones. [11] 'these things therefore, though difficult *(durus)*, and almost intolerable, &c.' [12] *simply:* tantâ prudentiâ, tantâ——ut.

[13] 'that he did not hesitate to renounce *(abjicere)* ‖ whatever *(quicquid)* is pleasant and agreeable to men *(humanum genus)*.' [14] dare *with the dat.* 'da hoc amicis tuis, da patriæ, ut operâ et consilio tuo uti possit. *Cic. Fam.* 4, 5. [15] 'atque hæc tanta tribuenda putabat——studio. [16] *honestas* gives the notion of *virtue* better than *virtus*. [17] cognitum habere. [18] haud vitiatus.

Section 7.

His higher views[1], as a citizen of the world, did not however[2] withdraw him from the discharge of those duties towards his country, which are of general obligation. In his six-and-thirtieth year he served, as a soldier, against the Potidæans, °the inhabitants of a city in Thrace, who had revolted against the Athenians, to whom they were tributary. Upon this occasion he did not neglect the opportunity of hardening his body against all the fatigues of war, and the inclemency of the season[3], and of training his mind to intrepidity and contempt of danger. *Pursuing this course, he †won[4], by the universal consent of his competitors themselves, ‖the prize of valour[5], but resigned it to Alcibiades, †whom he loved[6], and in †whom he wished to awaken the ambition of earning[7] for the future, by his own deeds[8], such °honourable distinctions from his country. Shortly before, he had saved his life in a skirmish. The city of Potidæa was besieged during the most severe weather. Others †took precautions against the frost; he remained in his usual clothes, and went about[9] with bare feet over the ice. Pestilence[10] raged in the camp, and in Athens itself. It is scarcely credible[11], though[12] positively asserted by Diogenes Laertius and Ælian, that Socrates °was the only one °whom the pestilence left untouched. °Without, however, concluding any thing from this circumstance, which may have been[13] a mere accident, (for those skilled in medicine know from experience, that the pestilence does not spare the strongest constitution any more than the weakest,) it may be said in general, and with certainty, that he was of a strong and enduring constitution, which he had so preserved

by temperance, exercise, and remoteness from all effeminacy [14], that he was hardened [15] against all the accidents and fatigues of life. He had, besides, neglected no opportunity in the field, not only of exercising the powers of his mind, but of exerting them to the utmost. He was seen sometimes for four-and-twenty hours to stand exactly in the same place, with his eyes fixed, and absorbed in thought, as if his spirit, says Aulus Gellius, were absent from his body. It cannot be denied that these trances [16] were, at least, on the confines of enthusiasm [17], and we find in his life several traces [18] ° that he was not altogether free from this feeling. It was [19], however, a harmless enthusiasm, which had neither pride nor misanthropy for its ground [20], and which, in the situation in which he was placed [21], may [22] have been of no small service to him. The ordinary feelings [23] of our nature seem scarcely sufficient to raise man to such great conceptions and stedfast resolutions.

[1] i. e. 'the views *(consilia)* according to which *(abl.)* he considered himself a citizen, not of his country, but of the world.' considered, duceret: *ducebat*, which might also stand, would represent the statement, *objectively*, as an historical fact: the subjunctive represents it *subjectively*, as a conception of the writer's, derived from his notion of Socrates's character and manner of reasoning. Thus, e. g. 'bellum, quod duo potentissimi reges *conjungant*,' does not merely contain an historical fact, but also intimates that I consider the war from this point of view, and wish it to be so considered. [2] neque vero. [3] tempestatis iniquitas. [4] ferre. [5] Obs. that by thus placing the object first, you avoid the necessity of repeating it by a pronoun. [6] Begin a new proposition, of which he wished to awaken is to be the principal sentence. The propositions, whom he loved, and in whom he wished, are not *logically co-ordinate*. [7] parare. [8] suâ sibi virtute. [9] mearo. [10] [See D. *lux.*] [11] pœne fidem superat. [12] *velut.* [13] a concessive sentence: 'this may have been *(quod licet)* ——yet.' [14] eorum, quæ ad effeminandam valitudinem pertinent, abstinentiâ. [15] valere ad tolerandum. [16] secessus mentis et animi a corpore. [17] 'a sort of *(aliquis)* predisposition to enthusiasm *(proclivitas ad aliquid)*.' [18] by connecting this sentence to the preceding one by *cujus*, you may get rid of the following one altogether. [19] qui tamen furor. [20] this has for its ground, huic subest (aliquid). [21] Translate this clause according to the example, '*such is your temperance.*' P. I. 36. [22] tantum abfuit ut cuipiam noceret——ut potius. In this construction tantum abest is always *impersonal*. [23] vulgares (mediocres) virtutes. Begin with 'etenim tantis.'

Section 8.

After the campaign was over, he † returned to his native city, and began with energy to combat sophistry and superstition, and to instruct his fellow-citizens in virtue and wisdom. In the public streets, walks [1], baths, private-houses, workshops of artisans, wherever he found [2] ° men, whom he thought he could improve, he stopped [3], entered into conversation ° with them, explained ° to them what was [4] right ° and wrong, good ° and bad, holy ° and unholy [5]; discoursed [6] with them of the providence and government of God, of the means to please Him, of the happiness of man, of the duties of a citizen, a father, a husband, and so on [7]. All this instruction he conveyed, not in the obtruding tone [8] of a teacher [9], but as a friend [10], who is himself ° glad to seek the truth with us. He had the art, however, so to manage ° these discussions [11], by asking the simplest questions, adapted to children, that any one could follow him [12], from one question to another [13], without much exertion, till ° quite insensibly he † should arrive at his journey's end, ° and fancy himself not to have been taught, but to have found out the truth. "In this," he used to say jestingly [14], "I imitate my mother; she no longer bears children herself; but she possesses the art of helping to bring into the world the progeny of others. In like manner do I perform the office of midwife to my friends. I question and examine till [15] the latent offspring [16] of their understanding comes to the light [17]."

[1] spatium. [2] *subjunct.* [3] subsistere jubere.
[4] *quid* to be repeated before each adjective. [5] fas—nefas.
[6] disserere. [7] et de ceteris rebus. [8] importunitas.
[9] præcipiens. [10] the *concinnity* of the antithetical notions requires the introduction of a substantive to correspond to *importunitas*. '*the*——*of a friend*.'
[11] disputatio: *sing.* [12] *se*, if you wish to represent it *as* a purpose; *cum* would merely express it as a consequence. If you use *se*, translate '*any one* could' by '*you could*.' [13] per singulas interrogationes.
[14] itaque jocari solebat. [15] P. I. 508. [16] fœtus *or* partus.
[17] edi.

SECTION 9.

This method of sifting out the truth by asking questions was also the happiest for confuting the sophists. When[1] once they got into a long dissertation[2], it was impossible to reach them. So many digressions, so many tales, so many plausible arguments[3], and so many rhetorical figures[4], stood at their command, that the hearers †were blinded, ° and thought themselves convinced. An universal clapping of hands usually followed these exhibitions; and it is easy to imagine || with what a triumphant look such teachers would look down upon their scholars, and also upon their adversaries[5]. What °did Socrates °do upon these occasions? He[6] clapped with the rest; but ventured a few trivial questions[7], rather remote from the subject, which these highly gifted men[8] held to be absurd, and answered out of sheer compassion. * By degrees he stole nearer to the point, always however with questions, and always so as to cut off from his opponent all opportunity of deviating into long dissertations. Thus were they forced to bring forward their notions distinctly and separately from each other, so as to admit of a thorough sifting, and so as to allow him to show the absurd °conclusions that followed[9] from their false premises. At last they found themselves driven to such straits[10], that they lost their patience[11]. But Socrates did not lose his, but bore even their rudeness with the greatest composure[12], and went on to unravel their notions, till at last the inconsistencies which followed from the principles of the sophists were made palpable to the most simple of their hearers. Thus did they become a laughing-stock to their own scholars.

[1] quod si. [2] 'the discussion passed into *(abire in)* an oration.' *pluperf.* [3] argumentorum fallaciæ. [4] orationis ornamenta (lumina). [5] 'with what a look, with what triumph must *(putabis)* || those teachers then have looked down upon, &c.' Look. See D. facies. [6] et ipse.

[7] interrogare, sciscitari rem. [8] iste, videlicet perdoctus homo. [9] absurdissima quæque repetere. [10] 'at last *(postremo)* when they perceived matters *(res)* to be brought to the greatest straits.' [11] rumpere patientiam : importunus fieri. [12] æquissimo animo.

Section 10.

In regard to religion [1] he seems to have had the following °maxims before his eyes. Every false doctrine or opinion which evidently † led to immorality [2], °and was °therefore against [3] the happiness of the human race, he by no means spared, but openly [4] combated in the presence of hypocrites [5], sophists, and the common people, exposed it to ridicule, and exhibited its inconsistency with truth, and its pernicious consequences [6]. Of this sort were the mythological doctrines of the poets [7], † as far as regards the weaknesses, acts of injustice, and infamous lusts and passions, which they ascribed to their gods. With regard to such doctrines, † as well as with regard to their wrong notions concerning the providence and government of God, the recompense of the good, and the punishment of the bad [8], he never held back his opinions, never [9] expressed even to appearance a doubt, but was at all times resolute to maintain the cause of truth with the greatest intrepidity, and, as the event proved, to seal his profession [10] by his death. But any doctrine [11] which was merely theoretically [12] false, and which could not do such harm to morals, as was to be apprehended from an innovation [13], he left uncombated, professed himself much oftener openly of the common opinion, observed the ceremonies and religious rites that were grounded on it, avoided every occasion [14] of making a decided declaration [15] against it, and when [16] he could not assent to it, he had a refuge at hand, that could never fail him [17]; he pleaded his ignorance.

[1] 'concerning religion, he seems to have followed this, that *(ut)*.' [2] morum integritati obficere. [3] aversari. [4] *not* publice. [5] honestatis simulator : not *simulator* only. [6] A (future) consequence —quod inde prodituram est. [7] 'the doctrines *(præcepta)* of the poets, by which they ascribe to their gods, &c.' [8] vel si quid falso præcipe-

rent de, &c. [9] 'did not even pretend to doubt.' [10] 'whatever *(pl.)* he had professed *(profiteri).*' [11] quæ autem præcepta, quum——. [12] ratione. [13] 'which he knew *(intelligere)* would not be so injurious to purity *(integritas)* of morals, as innovation *(res novæ).*' [14] omni modo cavere ne. [15] expresse sententiam dicere. [16] quod quum. [17] certissimum perfugium habere: habere quo se *possit* tueri.

SECTION 11.

Upon such occasions the method of teaching, which he had adopted [1], as we have seen, from other motives, gave him great advantage. For according to this method he never announced his doctrines with the arrogance [2] of a man that professes universal knowledge [3]; on the contrary, he asserted [4] nothing himself, but always sought to elicit the truth from his hearers by questions [5], so that it was in perfect consistency with his system, not to profess knowledge which he did not possess, or did not think fit to communicate [6]. The vanity †of having an answer for every question [7] had betrayed many a man of genius to assert things which he himself would have censured in the mouth of another. Socrates was far above this vanity. Concerning things that [8] were beyond °the bounds of his knowledge [9], he confessed, with the most unaffected frankness, "This I do not understand [10];" and if he observed that snares were laid for him, and certain concessions were artfully sought to be drawn from him, he evaded the danger, and said, "I know nothing." The oracle at Delphi pronounced [11] him the wisest of men. The priestess, *it would seem, had the crafty design to win over by flattery so formidable [12] an adversary, and to make it his interest, if he wished to be held the wisest of men, to declare her oracle infallible. But Socrates gave a remarkable turn [13] to the response of the oracle. "Do you know," said he, "why Apollo pronounced me the greatest sage upon earth?—Because others [14] for the most part think that they know something, when they, in fact, know nothing [15]; but I both clearly perceive, and frankly

confess, that all my knowledge amounts to this,—that I know nothing."

[1] *not* eligere. [2] 'arrogantly, as those *(hi)* are wont to do, who, &c.' [3] *infin. clause.* [4] proponere, ponere, affirmare. [5] interrogando et percontando elicere. [6] A play upon words may be here introduced. licet mihi nescire, quæ scire non licet. [7] 'by which they would wish, in whatever manner [o] they were questioned, to have an answer at hand.' to have an answer at hand:—promtum habere quod respondeat. *vellent.* Where *we* should use the *present* or *perfect* to describe a *general* truth, without reference to time, the regular rule for the sequence of tenses is generally to be observed in Latin. [But see P. I. 465, and note.] Apelles pictores eos peccare dicebat, qui non *sentirent* quid *esset* satis ('who *have* no perception of what *is* enough'): and this even when the assertion continues true at the time of speaking: quæ te ratio in istam spem induxit, ut eos tibi fideles *putares* fore, quos pecuniâ *corrupisses.* It is only when it is important to mark with accuracy the *continuance* of the action, &c. that the present is used. [8] si quid. [9] intellectus. [10] *orat. obl.* [11] prodere. [12] tantopere infestum sibi *or* ei:—the former deserves the preference. [13] mirum in modum interpretari. [14] arbitrantur *enim* ceteri. (See Excurs. v.) In an answer *enim* is often used for *quia*, like the Greek γάρ: δοκοῦσι γὰρ οἱ πολλοί. [15] quæ minime sciunt. *sciant* would express the *possibility* of their not knowing, as a modestly expressed opinion of the writer's: ἃ ἂν μὴ εἰδῶσι.

Section 12.

The fame of Socrates spread through all Greece, and the most noted and learned men from all quarters came [1] to him, to reap advantage from his friendly conversation and instruction. *Such [2] was the eagerness of his friends ‖ to hear him, that some [3] risked their lives for [4] the sake of being daily with him [5]. The Athenians had forbidden, on pain of death [6], any Megarian to set foot on their territory. Euclid [7] of Megara, a friend and scholar of Socrates, was not to be prevented by this law from visiting his instructor. He went by night, disguised in a variegated female dress [8], from Megara to Athens, and in the morning, before day-light, returned home, twenty miles distant [9]. Notwithstanding this, Socrates lived in the utmost poverty and indigence, and would take nothing for his instructions, though the Athenians were so eager for knowledge, that they would have

readily given him great sums, if he had required a recompense. The sophists had learned how to turn this readiness to better account.

[1] Excurs. viii. 4. [2] [P. I. Caution 10.] [3] nonnulli. See Excurs. ix. [4] dum. [5] *convenire*, to visit a man for the purpose of conversing with him; *adire*, generally, to call upon him with some request; *visere*, simply for the purpose of seeing him. [6] capitis supplicium irrogare (proponere), si quis, &c. [7] neque tamen hac lege, &c [8] vestis, *sing.* [9] domum rediens xx. millia passuum emetiebatur

SECTION 13.

It must have cost him the greater fortitude[1] ‖ to support this indigence, from his wife, the noted Xantippe, not being exactly the most contented of housewives; moreover, the care of the children devolved upon him, and from his hand they expected their food. It is, indeed[2], not yet satisfactorily established, that Xantippe was so much of a shrew[3], as is generally supposed. The tales, which are told[4] to her disgrace, have come down to us from later writers, who could have derived them only from hearsay[5]. Plato and Xenophon, who must have been best informed ‖ upon the subject, seem to have considered her as a middling sort of wife, of whom neither much good nor much evil could be said[6]. We find[7], indeed, in one of Plato's Dialogues, that on the last day of Socrates's life, she, with her child, † was[8] with him in prison, ° and that she was afflicted beyond measure at his death. All that is to be found to her disadvantage in these authentic writers is, perhaps, one passage[9] in Xenophon's Table-Talk[10], where somebody † asks Socrates why he had taken a wife ° of so perverse[11] ° a temper?—to which he answers[12], in his usual tone, "He who would learn to manage horses, chooses for his exercise not a quiet pack-horse[13], but a high-mettled steed, that will cost him some trouble to break; * from precisely the same motive, I, who would learn to manage men, have taken a wife, whose ° temper is not congenial[14] ° with my own, that I may the

better adapt myself to men's different humours [15]." In another passage this writer introduces [16] Lamproclus, the son of Socrates, complaining to [17] his father of his mother's harsh manners [18], morose disposition, and intolerable ill-humour. But from the answer of Socrates, it is evident, to her credit, that notwithstanding her shrewish qualities, she assiduously discharged the duties of a mother, loved her children, and took proper care of them. This testimony of her husband evidently refutes all the ° disgraceful anecdotes that † have been invented at her expense [19], and through which she has been held up to after-ages as a sample of a bad wife. It is reasonable to suppose, that Socrates had not exercised his art of managing men without effect upon his own consort; that he softened the harshness of her temper by unwearied patience, by complaisance, by mildness, and by the irresistible force of his admonitions [20]; that he won her love, and improved her so much, that from an uncongenial companion she became a good mother, and, as her behaviour before his death shows, a tender wife [21].

[1] majore animi fortitudine opus est. [2] quamquam. [3] ea ingenii malignitate quâ. [4] ferri. [5] nisi famâ acceptus (*a, um*, &c.). [6] bene *and* male audire. [7] 'she is read——to have, &c.' [8] When there is a *necessary connection* between two principal sentences, it is all but an absolute fault to connect them in any other way than that of a principal with its accessory sentence. See Excurs. viii. 4. [9] uno fere contineri loco. [10] Symposion Xenophonteum. Adjectives formed from proper names are more common in Latin than in English. [11] importuna, molesta. [12] inquit—inserted. [13] See D. equus. [14] difficilis, molestus. [15] morositas, *sing.*; *or, simply*, ingenia. [16] facit—querentem. *Connect by* quum—tamen. [17] apud. [18] asperitas. [19] in fraudem (detrimentum) ejus. [20] incredibili quadam admonitionum suarum vi. *Quidam* is often added in this way to adjectives that express *a degree* of good or bad, so great that the writer can hardly fix its precise amount. So *nescio quid*. [21] conjux singulari caritate.

Section 14.

However [1] this may be, his domestic circumstances [2] must [3] have made poverty far more irksome to him, as he had to

account for his conduct, not only to himself, but to a [o]whole family [4], probably discontented [5], and complaining of his unbending spirit. No man was better instructed [6] || in the duties of a father than Socrates. He well knew [7] that it was incumbent upon him to earn and provide enough for the creditable maintenance of his family [8], and he had very often inculcated this natural duty on his friends. But, as far as concerned himself, a higher obligation stood in his way, and prevented [9] the full discharge [10] of that duty. The corruption of the times, in which every thing was done from mercenary motives, and especially the sordid avarice of the sophists, who sold their pernicious instructions for [o]hard money [11], and had recourse to the most shameful means in order to enrich themselves at the expense [12] of the deluded people: all this laid upon him the obligation [13] to set in opposition to their low avarice, an example of the utmost disinterestedness, that his pure and unsullied purposes [14] might be susceptible of no evil construction [15]. He would rather suffer want, and if want pressed too hard upon him, live on alms [16], than countenance by his example, even in the least degree, the abject covetousness of these pretended teachers of wisdom.

[1] quicquid. See Z. p. 329, 2. Cicero also has '*quid ergo?*' instead of *quicquid est.* [2] rationes. [3] necesse est.
[4] uxor et liberi. [5] 'and those, too, [P. I. Diff. of Idiom, 82.] probably discontented.'—ægre ferre aliquid. [6] intelligere, noscere: *not* nosse.
[7] quum—tum. [8] sui. [9] 'he was hindered by a higher *(potior)* duty from.' [10] satisfacere officio. [11] nummus.
[12] cum fraude. [13] his igitur tantis malis obligatus est, &c. After a long *antecedent* sentence, it is usual to begin the principal sentence either with a repetition of the same words, or with other equivalent ones, with *igitur* or *inquam* inserted. [= '*I say*,' as used by us under the same circumstances.] So also *sed* or *tamen* is very commonly used in the resumption of the discourse after a parenthesis. [14] 'that what he did with a pure motive.'
[15] in malam partem detrahi (detorqueri) posse. [16] aliorum beneficiis vitam tribuere.

Section 15.

† He interrupted ‖ his benevolent occupations, ° and once more marched to the field [1], as a volunteer, against the Bœotians. † The Athenians lost a battle near Delium, and were completely defeated. Socrates showed his valour, both in the battle and in the retreat. * "Had every man done his duty like Socrates," said [2] ‖ the commander-in-chief, Laches, ° as we read in [3] Plato, "the day would certainly not have gone against us [4]." When all fled, he also retreated, but [5] step by step, and often turning to make a stand against the enemy, who [6] were pressing too closely upon him. † He found ‖ Xenophon, who had fallen from his horse, and was wounded, lying on the road, and, having lifted him on his shoulders, he bore him off in safety.

[1] quum altera stipendia meruit. See Excurs. ii. 2, *c.* [2] inquit: *inserted.* [3] apud. [4] diem funestam habere. *Funesta* dies, one that *really has been* saddened by death or defeat. Hence we cannot say of *to-day*, funestus *est*, before the misfortune has happened; but rather, *funestus* erit. A day may, however, be *perniciosus (bringing misfortune)*, before the actual happening of the apprehended evil. See *Cic. Cat.* i. 9. [5] 'but so that, retiring step by step *(pedetentim)*, he often turned, &c.' [6] si.

Section 16.

The priests, sophists, orators, and others, who [1] lived by the like mercenary arts, and to whom Socrates must have been a continual annoyance [2], † took advantage [3] of his absence, ° and tried to set the people against him. On his return [4], he found a party formed [5], that would scruple at no means of injuring him, however degrading [6]. They [7] won over, or, as has been firmly believed, they hired the comic poet, Aristophanes, to make Socrates odious and ridiculous, by means of a scurrilous farce [8], in order [9] partly to sound the common people, partly to prepare them, and, if the attack [10] succeeded [11], to venture still further. This trifle was entitled [12] The Clouds. Socrates was the chief character;

and °the person who acted this part[13], took pains to counterfeit him to the very life; clothes, gait, gesture, voice, °all were very naturally[14] copied. The piece itself, to the honour of the persecuted philosopher[15], has come down to us. Socrates was accustomed never to go to the theatre[16], except[17] when the pieces of Euripides, in the composition of which, as some think, he himself had a share[18], were acted. On the day when[19] this lampoon was to be performed[20], he, nevertheless, went. *He †heard, that many strangers, who were present, asked, what this Socrates, that was so jeered at in the play[21], was in the original[22]. He stepped forward in the middle of the performance, and continued to the end of the piece, standing in a place where every body could see him, and compare him with the copy. This was fatal, as it were[23], to the poet and his comedy. His best hits[24] had no longer effect[25]; for the look of Socrates excited °such respect, and such a sort of awe at his intrepidity[26], that the piece went off without applause. The poet †altered it[27], and brought it on the stage again the year following, but with no better success. *The enemies of the philosopher found themselves forced to put off their purposed attack upon him to a more favourable time.

[1] quique alii: *not* et alii qui. [2] i. e. *hated*. Substitute 'so hated a person *(homo)*,' for '*him*.' [3] abuti. [4] 'when he was returned.' [5] societas inita eorum, qui, &c. [6] 'who, that they might injure him, would not blush *(erubescere, pudet)* to use even the most disgraceful *(turpis)* means.' [7] hi. [8] rustica et ludicra fabula. [9] *partic. fut. act.* [10] malitia. [11] ex sententiâ cedere. [12] inscribi. [13] quam personam qui agebat. [14] *say:* 'in a very laughable manner.' [15] 'of the persecuted Socrates.' [16] in theatrum venire. [17] nisi si. [18] 'the poet availed himself of his help.' [19] quo autem die. [20] 'when he heard that, &c.:' *not* the periphrastic future. [21] in scenâ: *or* personatus. [22] verus. [23] 'inflicted a fatal wound, as it were.' [24] sales atque facetiæ. [25] insulsæ videri. [26] 'and °his intrepidity °such astonishment *(stupor quidam)*.' [27] retractare.

Section 17.

† Scarcely was the war with the Bœotians[1] ended, when the Athenians were obliged to raise a new army, in order to check the Lacedæmonian general Brasidas, who had withdrawn several cities in Thrace, and among others[2] the important city of Amphipolis, from their allegiance. Socrates[3] did not let the danger into which his last absence had placed him, make him less forward to serve his country again. This was, however, the last time that he left his native city. After this expedition, to the end of his life, he did not quit the territory of the Athenians[4], nor ever cease[5] to extend to the young men who sought him, the benefit of his friendly conversation, and to instil into them, both by precept and example, the love of virtue. As he was a great admirer and lover[6] of beauty of all kinds[7], so even in the choice of his friends, he seems to have had an eye to personal beauty. A beautiful[8] body, || he used to say, promised[9] a beautiful soul[10], and where this[11] promise was not fulfilled, he attributed the failure to its having been spoilt by neglect. He therefore took the utmost pains to bring the interior of such a person into harmony with his exterior. No one, however, was an object of such anxiety to him as Alcibiades, a young man of uncommon beauty and of great talents, but of an imperious, high-spirited, capricious, and, above all, most impetuous temper. With him he †took[12] unwearied pains, entering into conversation with him on every occasion, in order, by friendly admonitions and kind reproofs[13], to withhold him from those excesses of ambition and voluptuousness to which he had a natural propensity.

[1] 'the Bœotian war.' [2] quum alias civitates——tum. [3] Neque vero Socrates. [4] Atticus ager. [5] nunquam non facere aliquid. [6] amans : *c. gen.* [7] in omni genere. [8] egregius *or* pulcher. [9] *orat. obliq.* [10] ingenium. [11] *relat.* [12] 'him he pursued, with, &c.'—sectari. [13] reprehensio. *Vituperatio* is a harsher word.

SECTION 18.

With regard to the daemon [1] or genius, which he asserted that he possessed, and which, as he said [1], always restrained him from undertaking any thing evil, the opinions of the learned are divided. Some believe [1], that in asserting this, Socrates allowed himself a little invention [1], in order to obtain a hearing [1] from the superstitious people; but this seems irreconcileable with his usual honesty. Others understand by this genius, a quick [1] sense of good and evil, a [1] moral judgment [1] converted by reflection, by long experience and continued exercise, into instinct [1], by virtue of which he discerned voluntary actions in their probable consequences and effects, † without being able to account for his decisions, even to himself. We find [1], however, in Xenophon, as well as in Plato, [1] several cases where this spirit foretold things to Socrates, which cannot be traced [10] to natural power of mind. These may have been added to by his scholars from good intention; or perhaps [11] Socrates himself, who [12], as we have seen, was subject to ecstasies [2], had weakness or enthusiastic imagination enough [13], to transform this quick [1] moral sense into a [14] familiar spirit, † and to ascribe to it those forebodings which sprang from sources altogether different. Because [15] a man is superior to others, must he necessarily be exempt from all weaknesses and prejudices? * Though [15] in our days to ridicule the [1] pretended revelations [16] of a spirit would be no merit [14]; yet even this may have required, in those times, the steady exertion of mental powers, which Socrates employed to better purpose [17]. He was, besides, accustomed to tolerate every superstition, which had no immediate tendency to immorality, as has been already mentioned.

[1] *daemonion*; *divinum quid*. [2] *ut opinor*; *ut arbitror*; *ut spero*; *ut puto*, are inserted in familiar composition, as in English: but never *ut ridetur*,

[2] Furores quidam divini.

ut dixit; ut verisimile est; ut scio; except where they are quite parenthetic, as in such cases as: quodsi verum est, ut ante diximus. Quoniam, ut scio, nemo adfuit. [3] sunt qui statuant. [4] nonnihil fingere. [5] sibi facere audientiam. [6] acrior. [7] judicium. [8] natura. [9] Compare section 13, note [7]. 'the dæmon is read, &c.' [10] repetere ex. [11] vel. [12] quum. [13] tantus, ut. Enthusiastic imagination.—ingenium fanaticum; cogitationis luxuria. Imagination, imagine, &c., are always in Cic., cogitatio, cogitare, cogitatione fingere, &c. [14] quidam. [15] *Connect by* nisi vero; *indic.* [16] ut enim——, tamen id ipsum——fieri non poterat. [17] præsagitio divina. [18] quivis potest: *or* non magnopere laude dignum esse videtur. [19] ad meliora commoda: ad meliorem frugem.

Section 19.

The happiness of the human race was his only study. Whenever a [1] prejudice or superstition gave occasion to evident tyranny, to the violation of human rights, to the corruption of morals, and so forth; nothing in the world could hinder him, in defiance of all menaces and persecution, from declaring his opposition to it. There was among the Greeks an ancient superstitious belief, that the shades of the unburied °dead °must wander restless on the shores of the Styx for a hundred years, before they were allowed to pass over [2]. This superstitious belief † may have been introduced [3] among a rude people by the first founder of a society from laudable motives. But in the times of Socrates, through a shameful abuse, it cost many staunch patriots [4] their lives [5]. The Athenians [6] † had obtained, near the islands of Arginusæ, a complete victory over the Lacedæmonians. The commanders of the conquering fleet † were, °however, hindered by a storm from burying their dead. On their return to Athens they were, with the utmost ingratitude, publicly [7] accused, °on account of this omission [8]. Socrates ‖ the same day presided in the senate of the Prytanes, whose duty it was to manage public affairs. The baseness of some in power, the sanctimonious hypocrisy [9] of the priests, and the abject subserviency [10] of venal orators and demagogues [11], had combined [12] to excite the blind zeal [13]

of the people || against these defenders of the state. The enraged people clamoured[14] for their condemnation. Part[15] of the senate itself was infatuated by the popular errour[16]; the rest did not possess spirit enough[17] to oppose the general fanaticism[18]. All agreed to pass sentence of death on these unhappy patriots. Socrates alone had the courage[19] to defend their innocence. He set at nought the threats of those in power, and the fury of the enraged multitude; he stood alone on the side of persecuted innocence[20], and chose to brave the worst consequences rather than consent to such rank injustice[21]; but all his efforts were fruitless. He saw with indignation[22] blind zeal get the upper hand, and the republic fix on itself the stigma[23] of sacrificing its bravest defenders to a senseless prejudice[24]. The year after, the Athenians were completely defeated by the Lacedæmonians, their fleet destroyed, their capital besieged, and brought to such straits that they were obliged to surrender to the conquerors unconditionally[25]. It is very probable, that the want of experienced leaders on the side of the Athenians had no small share || in °causing this defeat.

[1] quis. [2] transjiciendi potestatem facere. [3] impertire.
[4] 'many and very good citizens.' [5] 'was the cause why *(quare)*——were killed *(necare)*.' *Quare* and *quamobrem* often stand in this way, where the simple relative, with or without a preposition, would be enough.
[6] The Athenians——the commanders——on their return. These propositions, as containing but *one* principal thought, should, in the periodical style of composition, be arranged as one period. See Excurs. viii. 3.
[7] apud populum. [8] neglectæ religionis. [9] simulata religio.
[10] nefaria improbitas. [11] 'of those who put up their speeches to sale *(orationes venales habere)*, or courted the favour of the people.'
[12] societatem inire; conspirare. [13] studia. [14] *infin. histor.* importune flagitare. [15] pars——reliqui. Liv. vi. 24.
[16] 'by that errour *(error* or *furor)* of the vilest men.' errore *teneri*.
[17] 'to be unwilling through fear.' [18] omnium furor.
[19] tantâ exstitit animi constantiâ. [20] '(though) deserted by all, he supported *(tueri)* the cause of persecuted *(vexatus)* and innocent men.'
[21] indignissima crudelitas. [22] 'saw——that, &c.' ut *or* quemadmodum.
[23] eam notam sibi inurere, ut. [24] male perceptus error.
[25] in fidem alicujus se dedere.

Section 20.

Lysander, the commander-in-chief of the Lacedæmonians, after the taking of the city, favoured an insurrection that had sprung up there, changed the democratic form [1] of the government into an oligarchy [2], and established a council of thirty men, known by the name of the thirty [3] tyrants. The most cruel enemies could not have committed such atrocities against the city as ‖ these monsters committed [4]. Under pretext °of punishing sedition and offences against the state, the most respectable people were robbed of their property. Plunder [5], confiscation, and banishment, the public execution of some, the assassination of others, were the achievements [6] by which they signalized [7] their government [8]. How must the heart of Socrates have bled to see [9] Critias, who had been his scholar, at the head of these monsters! Yes [10], this Critias, his former friend and disciple, now acted as his open enemy [11], and sought occasion to persecute him. *The sage [12] †had once rebuked, in severe terms, his brutal and unnatural [13] licentiousness; °and from that time the inhuman monster harboured against him a secret resentment [14], and now sought every opportunity of wreaking his vengeance.

[1] respublica libera. [2] paucorum imperium. [3] totidem.
[4] 'these monsters raged with such °fury *(ita)*, that even the most cruel enemies could not have raged more cruelly.'—monstrum, portentum.
[5] Here either the *substantives* may be retained, the continuation being made by *his isti facinoribus*, &c.: or *infinitives* may be used: 'to plunder, &c.——these were the crimes by which, &c.' [6] facinora. [7] insignire.
[8] dominatio. [9] Quid censes, quo hoc animo tulisse Socratem, quum ——vidit? Comp. *Cic. Rosc. Am.* 17. [10] Quid? quod ille ipse, &c.
[11] inimicitias agere apertas. [12] Socrates. [13] fœdus.
[14] 'in the inhuman heart of the man there dwelt *(insidere)* a secret resentment, &c.'—immanis hominis natura.

Section 21.

When he and Charicles were appointed lawgivers, in order to find matter of accusation against Socrates, they passed a

law that nobody should teach rhetoric [1]. In the mean time they heard [2], that Socrates had attacked them with words [3], and let these expressions several times escape [4] his °lips. "It would [5] be wonderful, if [6] herdsmen † were to make the herds committed to their care, fewer and more meagre, °and yet wish [7] not to be considered [8] as bad herdsmen; but far more wonderful would it be, if the rulers [a] of a state were to make the citizens fewer, and reduce them to a worse state, °and yet wish [9] not to be considered as bad rulers." Upon this they sent for Socrates, showed him the law, and forbad him to enter into conversation with young people. "May I be permitted," said ‖ Socrates, "to ask a question or two about some things in this prohibition, that seem to me not clear enough?" "Certainly," said they [10]. "I am willing," answered he [11], "to obey the law; my only fear is, lest I should offend against it through ignorance; I ask, therefore, for a clear explanation, whether you understand by rhetoric, the art of speaking what is right, or what is wrong. If the former, I shall be under the necessity of refraining to teach any body to speak what is right; if the latter, I shall willingly refrain from teaching them °to speak what is wrong." *Charicles † flew into a rage, °and said, "To prevent all misapprehension [12], we have made the law most easy to be understood, and forbidden speaking with young people at all." "Still [13]," replied Socrates, "there is another thing of which I wish to be informed, in order that I may keep the law: up to what age [14] do you consider men as young people?" "Till they can sit in the council [15]," ‖ answered Charicles [16]; "till they are of ripe understanding; in short, till they are thirty years old." "But if a young man under thirty," replied Socrates, "has any thing to sell [17], and I wish to buy it, may I ask him the price?" "That is not forbidden thee," said Charicles; "but thou frequently askest questions about

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[a] Rector.

things with which thou art perfectly well acquainted; from such questions refrain altogether." "Am[18] I also to refrain from answering questions about things with which I am perfectly well acquainted?" rejoined Socrates. "If, for instance, a young man were to ask[19] me, where Charicles or Critias dwells, am I at liberty to answer him?" "Yes, yes," said Critias; "but refrain from thy trite instances and comparisons of saddlers, timber-merchants, and smiths." "Probably[20]," answered Socrates, "you would also have me silent || with regard to those principles of justice, rectitude, piety, and so forth, that I am accustomed to illustrate by such instances?" "Exactly so[21]," answered Charicles; "and, above all things, say not a word about herdsmen. Mark this well, or I fear that, through thy fault, one of the herd will be missing."

[1] artem profiteri. [2] Better so: 'in the mean time Socrates——had attacked:' *and then below*, 'when they *heard* this, they sent for him, &c.' [3] verbis tangere. [4] excidere alicui. [5] esse quidem mirum. [6] *si*, because it is an hypothetical case: the next '*if*' should be *quum*, since it is to be intimated that the supposition was *realized* in the thirty tyrants. [7] With *volo*, *nolo*, *malo*, *cupio*, the construction is *vult*, &c., esse princeps, *or*, *se* esse principem. But there is a difference: the personal pronoun is expressed when it is implied that the person really *is so*, or wishes to be *so considered*. The infinitive without the pronoun intimates a wish to *become so*. [8] The infin. may be used (for *si nolint*), as it is rendered hypothetical by the preceding *si*. [9] si nolint. [10] inquiunt[a]. [11] ille. [12] id si parum intelligis. [13] sed in his etiam. [14] ætas. [15] 'whilst they cannot be in the council *(senatus)*.' [16] tum ille. [17] quod si quid emturus sim. [18] verum de responsione, inquit Socrates. [19] sciscitari, *partic.* [20] opinor: *inserted.* [21] Ad hæc Charicles, Ita profecto, inquit.

Section 22.

Socrates regarded their threats as little[1] as their absurd law, which[2] they had no right to establish, as being

[a] In dialogues of this kind, where the words are put in the mouths of the speakers just as they were spoken, *inquit* or *ait* are the only words used to mark the changes of the person speaking. See Cic. Or. i. 24, &c.

directly contrary to sound reason and the law of nature. He exerted himself [3] in the promotion of virtue and rectitude with the most unwearied zeal; notwithstanding which, the tyrants did not yet venture to arrest him. †They sought by round-about ways [4] † to implicate him in their own unjust actions; °with which intent they commissioned him, together with four other citizens, to bring Leon of Salamis to Athens, in order that he might be put to death. The others †accepted the commission [5]; °but Socrates declared, that he would never lend his hand to what was unjust. "That is to say [6], thou wouldest fain," said Charicles, "have liberty to speak whatever thou wilt, and suffer nothing at all for it!" "°I am ready to suffer all possible evil for it, except that of treating any man unjustly [7]." Charicles was silent; the rest looked at each other. This freedom [8] would, nevertheless, in the end have cost Socrates his life, if the people, weary of the cruelty of these tyrants, had not stirred up an insurrection, put to death their principal leaders, and driven the rest out of the city.

[1] non magis quam. *parum* is '*too* little.' [2] 'which they had established *(proponere)* against all right.'—adversus omne jus fasque.
[3] 'he exerted himself with the greatest zeal to promote virtue and rectitude.'
[4] ambages quærere; fraudem cogitare. [5] id negotium.
[6] nempe. [7] præter hoc unum, ut ulli injuriam fecisse videar.
[8] libertas.

Section 23.

The restoration of the democratical form of government was of no benefit to Socrates. His old [1] enemies, the sophists, priests, and orators, now †found the long wished-for opportunity to persecute him with better success, °and, at last, to compass his death [2]. Anytus, Melitus, and Lycon, are the three names, never to be forgotten [3], to their [4] ignominy, of those who allowed themselves to be made the tools of this infamous atrocity [5]. They brought before the people the calumnious accusation [6], that Socrates had taught

Critias those tyrannical principles, which he had lately put in practice with such unheard-of cruelty. He who knows the credulity and fickleness of the populace, will not wonder that the Athenians gave ear [7] to such a palpable falsehood, though every man [8] knew what had passed between Socrates and the tyrants. Some years before, Alcibiades, who possessed great talents, but a most reckless character, †in company with some other wild young men, beat to pieces a statue of Mercury, openly derided the Eleusinian mysteries, and was obliged to make his escape from his native city °on account of these outrages. This story was now raked up [9], and it was spread about [10] by the enemies of Socrates, that it was he who had taught the young man contempt for religion [11]. Nothing could be more contrary to the doctrines and conduct of Socrates than such an offence. The public worship of God, however alloyed by superstition [12] °it might be, he had at all times held in honour [13]; and with regard to the Eleusinian mysteries, he had counselled all his friends to have themselves initiated, though he himself might have his [14] reasons for [15] not doing so. There is good ground for believing, that the great mysteries of Eleusis were nothing more than [16] the doctrines of true natural religion [17], and a rational interpretation of mythology. If Socrates refused to be initiated, it probably [18] proceeded from anxiety to retain the liberty of teaching such doctrines with impunity, of which the priests sought to deprive [19] °him by initiation [20].

[1] See D. *antiquus*. [2] sustulerunt. [3] per omnem posteritatem propagandus. [4] ipsorum. [5] turpissimum facinus. [6] calumniari apud plebem. [7] aurem præbere. [8] nemo non. [9] moveri. [10] disseminare sermones. [11] sacra. [12] quamvis superstitiosus. [13] revereri. [14] certus. See Excurs. xiii. [15] quare. [16] nihil aliud nisi. [17] vera ac naturalis (*or* quæ naturaliter est insita homini) religio. [18] 'it is probable that he did it for this reason, that he might, &c.' [19] eripere. [20] 'from the initiated °person.'

SECTION 24.

When the calumniators, by spreading such malignant reports, thought that they had sufficiently prepared the people, Melitus brought a formal accusation against Socrates before the magistrate of the city, who immediately gave notice of it to the people[1]. The court of the Heliastæ was summoned, and the usual number of citizens appointed by lot to try the accused. The impeachment was[2]: Socrates acts against the laws, inasmuch[3] as he does not honour the gods of the city, but wishes to introduce[4] a new divinity, and corrupts youth, teaching them to despise all that is holy[5]. Let his punishment be death.

His friends † brought him clever and elaborate speeches for his defence. "They are very fine[6]," said he; "but so much art does not become an old man[7]." "Wilt[8] thou not thyself then," said they, "write something in thy defence?" "The best defence which I can make," answered he, "is,—that[9] in the course of my life I have wronged no man. I have[10] several times begun to think of a defence, but have always been restrained by God. Perhaps it is his will, that before the decline of my faculties, and the sickness of old age come, I should die an easier death, and neither become a burden to my friends, nor to myself." In these words some would fain discover a proof, that Socrates was faint-hearted, and feared the inconveniences of old age more[11] than death. To try to persuade the reader of this, would require no little presumption[12].

[1] nomen ad populum deferre. [2] accusant ita. [3] quum. [4] introducere. et—et. [5] divina atque humana sacra habere. [6] næ, inquit, perquam venustæ (*or* elegantes)! [7] pæne confectus ætate. [8] 'then *(deinde)* when they asked him whether, &c.——he is said to have replied.' (The rest in *obliq. orat.*) [9] eâ re contineri, quod. [10] semper se, quum aliquoties cœpisset——prohibitum esse. [11] magis: not plus. [12] O insignem temeritatem (*followed by* infin.).

Section 25.

On the day publicly appointed for this trial, Melitus, Anytus, and Lycon, made their appearance; the first, on behalf of[1] the poets; the second, of the people; and the last, of the orators: they mounted the suggestum one after the other, and delivered the most envenomed and calumnious[2] speeches against Socrates. When they had finished, he rose without trembling[3] or dismay, without[4] casting an imploring look, according to the custom of the times[5], to the seats of the judges, in order to move their pity[6], but with the composed and undaunted demeanour that became his wisdom. He delivered || a speech, void indeed of art, and unprepared, but manly and energetic, in which he refuted[7], without[8] bitterness, all the calumnies and malignant reports that had been circulated to his prejudice, brought his accusers to shame[9], and exposed the contradictions and inconsistencies || in their charges[10]. He treated his judges, indeed, with proper respect, but spoke in a tone so firm, and of such conscious superiority[11], that his speech was often interrupted by murmurs[12] of disapprobation. He concluded with the following words:—

[1] a. [2] omni genere conviciorum ac calumniarum tumentes. [3] *partic. pres.* [4] ac ne——quidem. [5] *Say* 'in trials *(judicia).*' [6] misericordiam judicum miserâ et flebili specie (Cic.) movere *(fut. partic.).* [7] *subjunct.* [8] nullus. [9] ignominiæ dare aliquem; perturbare. [10] 'of the charges themselves.' [11] 'as one *(ut qui)* who was conscious of his integrity *(virtus).*' [12] fremitus.

Section 26.

"Be not[1] offended, Athenians, that contrary to the custom of the accused, I neither speak to you in tears, nor bring here my children, relations, and friends, to make a display of woe, in order to move your pity. It is not from pride or defiance that I have omitted this[2]; but because I hold it

wrong to supplicate a judge, or to wish to move him by any thing, except the justice of one's cause. * For a judge has bound himself by an oath to judge [3] according to law and equity, and to suffer neither pity nor anger to influence his sentence [4]. We therefore, who are accused, act against right and equity, if we seek by our lamentations to make you violate your oath, and against the respect which we owe you, if we think you capable of doing so. * I will [5] on no account, therefore, owe my acquittal [6] to such means [7], which are neither right nor equitable, nor consistent with the fear of God, especially as I am accused by Melitus of impiety. If [8] I were to seek by my supplications to make you perjured, this would be the most convincing proof of my disbelief in the gods; consequently, my defence itself would convict me of Atheism. But no [9]! I am more convinced ‖ of the existence of God [10] than any of my accusers; to God therefore do I resign myself, and to you, my judges, to judge me according to truth [11], and to dispose of me [12], as you shall deem [13] best [14], for you as well as for myself."

[1] nolite. Obs. A speech must be translated *freely*, if it is to have any thing of the fulness and finish of a piece of Roman oratory. It must have its fair share of those figures to which Roman orators were partial (*questions, appeals, irony, anaphora*, &c.), and even the rhythm will require the insertion, here and there, of additional notions and clauses. [2] haec me omisisse putatote non——sed. [3] *imperf. subjunct.* [See P. I. p. 129, note *q*.] Say, '*to follow laws*.' [4] 'not to pronounce (*dicere*) sentence from (*commotus*) either pity or anger.' [5] Quid ergo est? nolo quidem ego ullo modo, &c. [6] salus. [7] artes. [8] quodsi. [9] 'but (*verum*) this is very far from me.' [10] 'that there is a God.' [11] vere. [12] placet fieri aliquid de aliquo. [13] statuere. [14] saluberrimum.

SECTION 27.

The judges were much provoked [1] at his composed and undaunted demeanour, and † interrupted Plato, who, rising up after him, began to address them. "Though I am the youngest, O Athenians!" ‖ began Plato [2], "of those who ascend this place . . . " "Descend [3]," cried they to him,

and allowed him not to continue his speech. Socrates was pronounced guilty by a majority of three-and-thirty [4].

It was the custom at Athens, that the condemned should impose on themselves a certain punishment, fine, imprisonment, or banishment, in order to avouch the justice of their sentence, or rather to confess their crimes. Socrates † was now to make his choice; ° but he would on no account be so unjust towards himself as to acknowledge himself guilty, but [5] said, "If I am to speak my mind, as to what I think I have deserved, know, O Athenians, I think [6], that by the services which I have rendered the republic, I have well merited to be maintained at the public expense in the Prytaneum [7]." Nevertheless, at the persuasion of his friends, he submitted to name a small fine, but would not consent that they should contribute among themselves to pay a greater.

[1] moleste ferre aliquid. [2] 'for when he *(is enim quum)* had begun ° his speech thus, &c.' [3] quin descende. [4] suffragiis XXIII. superantibus. [5] itaque. [6] 'I deem myself *(videor mihi)* to have deserved so ° well of the state, that, &c.' [7] dignum esse, cui victus ——præbeatur.

Section 28.

The judges † consulted together about the punishment to which they should condemn him, ° and the wickedness of his enemies procured a sentence of death. "* You have been too precipitate [1] with your sentence, O Athenians!" said Socrates, "and will thus have given a handle to the calumniators of this city to reproach you with [2] having put to death the wise Socrates, for I shall be cried up as wise, though I am not so, that they may inflict the severer censure upon you. You would not have had long to wait, if you had left me to die without your help [3]. You see how near I am [4] to death already. I address ° this to you who have pronounced sentence upon me [5]. Do [6] you think, ye men of Athens, that if I had been of opinion [7], that it became a man to do and say every thing in order to obtain a favourable sentence, I

should have wanted words to conciliate and persuade you [8]? Assuredly not! °If I succumb, °it is not [9] for want of words or arguments, but for want [10] of that shameless and abject spirit which would allow me to make such appeals to you, as would be agreeable for you to hear [11], but unbecoming an upright man to utter [11]. Cries [12], shrieks, and all such cringing means of persuasion, to which you are accustomed from others, † are utterly unworthy [13] of me, and I resolved from the first rather to lose [14] my life, than to save it by dishonourable compliances [15]. For, in my opinion [16], a man is no more justified [17] in using all possible means to escape death, when before a court of justice [18], than when in battle. How often might a soldier in an action save his life by throwing down his arms, and asking quarter [19] of his enemy! So, in human life, there are many cases where death might easily be shunned, were [20] a man shameless enough to scruple at no means that are required to obtain that end. To escape death, ye men of Athens, is sometimes [21] by no means difficult: to escape shame, is far more so; for shame [22] is swifter than death. Hence comes it, that I, a slow old man, am at last overtaken by my most slow °pursuer, while, on the contrary, my accusers, all life and activity [23], are arrested in the very midst of their career by that swiftest °of pursuers,—shame. I shall suffer the death to which you have condemned [24] me; they, the ignominy and dishonour to which truth and justice have condemned [25] them. I am satisfied with your sentence; so, probably, are they; consequently things have turned out to the satisfaction of all [26]; and I, for my part, acknowledge the fates to have been, ‖ in bringing about these events [27], both just and worthy of reverence."

[1] temere fecisse.——judicantes. [2] quod, *or* quum with *indic.* (Excurs. ii. 2, *c.*) [3] negotium. [4] prope abesse a. [5] supplicium in me destinare. [6] An. [7] si ego existimarem. [8] animi. [9] non quo——sed quia [P. I. 492.].

[10] 'but because I dreaded *(vereri)* being *(inf.)* so shameless as to, &c.'

[11] *sup.* [12] *infin.* [13] 'these °things I judged so unworthy of me, that——.' [14] deponere. [15] inhonesta ratio. *sing.* [16] ego enim sic intelligo. [17] non licere. [18] in judiciis. Say: 'that equally *(perinde)* in courts and in wars, it is not lawful, &c.' [19] fidem implorare. [20] dum——audeat. [21] See D. nonnunquam. [22] scilicet ea. [23] viri admodum alacres et strenui. [24] mulctare. [25] destinare aliquem alicui rei. [26] ex sententiâ omnium. [27] in his etiam.

Section 29.

After he had spoken some truths[1] to the judges who had condemned him, freely but without rancour[2], he turned to those who had voted for his acquittal[3], and addressed[4] to them °a sort of dissertation on life, death, and immortality, adapted to the comprehension of the common people of those times. But when he was alone with his scholars and confidential friends, he entered more profoundly into these subjects[5].

He †was conducted to prison, which[6], as Seneca says, by the presence of such a man lost its ignominy, as that could scarcely be called a prison where a Socrates was. On his way[7] he was met by some of his scholars[8], who were quite inconsolable at what had befallen him. "*Why[9] do you weep?" asked °the sage. "Did not nature doom me to death even at my birth[a]? If death were about to tear me away from some real and profitable good, both I, and those who love me, might have cause[10] to regret my fate; but since I leave behind me here below, nothing but misery and distress, surely my friends ought rather[11] to wish me good speed on my journey[12]."

[1] exagitare. [2] leniter; æquo animo; sine ullo stomacho. [3] absolvere. [4] disserere de. [5] de eadem re uberius et ratione exponere. [6] This proposition is to be made parenthetical (sed carceri, ut Seneca ait——ademta est). [7] Use here the *sed* of resumption (sed quum deduceretur, &c.). [8] 'some of his scholars met him on his road *(in itinere obviam facti).*' [9] 'when *(ubi)* he saw these *(relat.)*, why——?' [10] Use the idiom '*est quod*' with subjunct. [P. I. 477.] [11] habent quod. [12] de profectione meâ gratulari.

[a] Statim in nascendo morti addicere.

SECTION 30.

Apollodorus, who is described as having a very good heart, but rather a weak head, †could not endure[1] the thought, that his teacher and[2] friend should suffer death unjustly. "Good Apollodorus," said ‖Socrates smiling, while he laid his hand upon his head[3], "would you rather °see me suffer death justly[4]?"

What ‖afterwards passed in the prison, and in the last hours of the dying Socrates, the reader may learn in the dialogue that follows this narrative. But[5] there is also a conversation with Crito ‖not to be omitted, of which Plato has made a separate dialogue. Some days before the execution of Socrates, Crito †came to him in prison before day-break, found him in a sweet sleep[6], and seated himself quietly by his bed, in order not to disturb him[7]. When Socrates awoke, he said, "Why are you so early[8] to-day, friend Crito?" Crito mentioned that he had received intelligence, that the next day the sentence of death was to be put into execution. "If it is the will of God," answered ‖Socrates, with his usual calmness, "so be it! Yet I think that it will not take place to-morrow. Just as you came[9], I had[10] a pleasant dream. There appeared to me a woman of uncommon beauty, in a long white robe, who †called me by name[11], and said,

'In three days fruitful Phthia wilt thou see[12]!'"

A fine allusion[13]! by which he indicated that he felt the same longing for another life, as the enraged Achilles, according to Homer, felt[14], while in the camp[15], for Phthia, his native land. But Crito, who had quite different views, disclosed to his °friend[16], that he had bribed the guard, and got every thing in readiness to carry him off by night from his prison, and that it now depended upon himself only to escape a disgraceful death.

He sought to convince him, by the weightiest representations, ||that this was his absolute duty. Knowing his love for his native country, he represented to him, that he was bound to prevent the Athenians shedding innocent blood; he added, that he must pursue this course even for the sake of his friends, who besides the affliction which his loss [o]would occasion them[17], would be exposed to the ignominious imputation of having done nothing for his deliverance[18]. He did not omit, before he concluded, to hold before him an affecting image of the wretchedness of his helpless children, if they[19] should be bereft of his fatherly instruction, example, and protection.

[1] quum ferre non posse videretur. *Videor* often describes not *appearance* only, but the *manifestation* of a *real* state. [2] et idem. [3] *abl. abs.* [4] As a general rule, whatever can be supplied from the question, is, in Latin conversations, *omitted* in the answer. [5] neque vero. [6] placide dormientem. [7] quietem turbare; somnum avertere. [8] tanto mane. [9] *perf.* [10] somnio uti. [11] nominatim appellare.

[12] A line of Homer's, which Cicero thus translates:—

"Tertia te Phthiæ tempestas læta locabit."

[13] 'so he seems to have delicately *(subtiliter)* intimated *(indicare)*, that, &c.' [14] '*is read* to have (felt), &c.' eodem desiderio cogitare aliquid. [15] ex castris. [16] 'opened to him a quite *(plane)* different view.' [17] the affliction *(dolor)* of so great a loss.' [18] saluti alicujus parum consulere. [19] quos fore——privatos: with or without *demonstrat.*

Section 31.

Upon this Socrates answered: "My dear Crito, thy friendly intention is[1] laudable, and therefore to be received with thanks, if it can be reconciled to sound reason. But if it[2] be contrary to it, we must be on our guard against it. We should therefore first take into consideration, whether thy proposal is just and consonant to reason or not. I have always accustomed myself to be incited to nothing[3], except what, after mature consideration, I hold to be the best; and I see no ground, why I should now deviate from what have hitherto been the rules[4] of my life, though in the situation in which thou seest me; they[5] appear to me still in the same light[6], and

therefore I can do no otherwise than continue to value and respect them." After having refuted Crito's false reasoning, °and demonstrated to him, what a reasonable [7] man owed to the laws and to his country, he continued [8], "Suppose I were °on the point of making my escape [9], and the republic with its laws were to appear [10], and say to me, 'Speak, Socrates; what is it thou intendest to do? Considerest thou not [11], that thou art preparing, as far as in thee lies, to overthrow the laws and the whole state? Or thinkest thou [12], that a state can possess stability [13], and not [14] be necessarily disorganized, in which the sentences of judicature are of no force, and may be thwarted by every private person?' What °could I answer [15] to this, my friend [16]? Would [17] you have me say, that injustice has been done me, and that I have not deserved the sentence that has been pronounced against me? Would such an answer suffice?" CRIT. "By Jupiter! yes, O Socrates." SOCR. "But suppose the laws should reply, 'How [18]! Socrates; didst thou not bind thyself to us [19] to acquiesce in all the decrees of the republic?' °At this question I should pause [20], but they would proceed [21], 'Let not this stagger thee, Socrates; for thou art certainly a friend [22] to questions and answers; declare what it is that displeases thee in us [23] and the republic, that thou aimest at our destruction? Is it [24] the laws of marriage, by which thy father married thy mother, and brought thee into the world, that displeases thee?' 'By no means,' should I answer [25]. 'Perhaps, then, thou disapprovest [26] our manner of bringing up and instructing children? Are not the regulations laudable, which we have made with regard to this object, and which obliged thy father to have thee instructed in music and gymnastics?' 'Very laudable [27],' should I be obliged to answer."

[1] inquit. [2] either °it or ‖ it. [3] equidem omni tempore sic adsuevi, ut *nihil (or* ut *ne quid)* viderer admisisse, nisi quod, &c. After *adsuevi*, the following clause may be considered as the *consequence* (ut nihil), or as the preventive purpose (ut ne quid). On *ut ne*, see P. I. p. 28, note.

[4] ab his vitæ rationibus quas, &c. vitæ rationes *suscipere.* [5] illæ. [6] idem judicare de aliquâ re. [7] frugi. [8] inquit. [9] *abl. abs.* use *jam.* [10] fac adsit respublica. Throughout the following fiction the *present subj.* is to be used, not the *imperf.* [11] non : *not* nonne. *Non* is to be used, (1) in a series of questions, with the first of which *nonne* has been used : (2) in questions of *appeal*, and other questions that are not for information, but are equivalent to a *command, exhortation, expostulation*, &c. '*non* tu te cohibes ?' '*non* mihi respondes ?' &c. The omission of the interrogative particle adds spirit and animation to the question. [12] an sic putas.. ? [13] stare; salvus esse. [14] ac non. [15] *subj. pres.* [16] Crito. [17] nisi forte. [18] Hem ! [19] recipere alicui. [20] obmutescere paulisper. [21] inquiant : præsertim quum alias, &c. [22] I am a friend to this. *(hoc)* jucundum est mihi. [23] quid nostri.—*pers. pron.* [24] ecquid. [25] aiam, inquiam. [26] ergo, &c. *Ergo assumes* or anticipates the answer *(= then I suppose)* : as *scilicet, nempe* in other cases. [27] Affirmative answers are made by such particles as *ita; ita est; sane; etiam; vero :* or by *repeating* (with or without an affirmative particle) the verb or other word to which the question relates.

Section 32.

"'Thou ownest, then, that thou art indebted to us for thy birth, thy bringing up, and thy instruction; and therefore we can claim thee as our son and pupil, as well as any of thy ancestors. Hast thou then [1], we ask thee, equal rights with us; and [2] whatever we do to thee, mayst [3] thou [o]always pay us back in the same coin [4]? Thou wilt assume no right, like that which thou now claimest with regard to us, with thy father, or with thy master, if thou hast one; thou wilt not retaliate [5], either in words or actions, what thou sufferest from them, when they happen to be offended with thee; wilt thou, then [6], claim equal rights [7] with thy native country and her laws? Wilt thou hold it right, as soon as we have passed a decree against thee, to resist us? and to bring the laws of thy native country, as far as in thee lies, to destruction? Dost [8] thou think [9], that in acting thus, thou art dealing justly? thou, who art [10] so zealous in the pursuit of virtue? Dost thou not know, with all thy wisdom [11], that neither father, nor mother, nor ancestors, are so much venerated, so highly prized, so sacred, or possess such authority, in the [o]estimation of the gods and of all men, who are in their senses, as one's native country [12]?' In this

tone [13] did they continue [14], and at last added [15], 'Consider Socrates, whether thou art not treating us with injustice [16] We have bred thee, educated °and instructed thee; w have made thee and every citizen of Athens, as far as lies i our power, partakers of all the benefits which social life ca give; and besides this, we have given to thee, and to ever one who is settled at Athens, permission, if our constitution after a sufficient trial, does not suit him [17], to depart wit what belongs to him, and betake himself to whatever plac he chooses. The gates of Athens stand open to every on who does not choose to remain there, and he can take wit him what belongs to him, without hinderance. But he [18], wh has seen °what are our customs [19], and how we administe right and justice, and who nevertheless [20] remains with us has tacitly entered into a covenant to render obedience t whatever we command; and if he [21] is [22] disobedient, h commits [22] a threefold injustice [23]. He disobeys his parents he disobeys the directors of his education and instruction and he transgresses the covenant, which he has entered int with us.' Methinks [24], my °dearest Crito, that I still hea these words, as the Corybantes °imagine that they hea the flutes; and so loudly do they sound in my ears, that can hear nothing else."

Crito went away convinced, but at the same time vexed [25] that reason had condemned his proposal.

[1] *Orat. obliq.* [See P. I. p. 147.] [2] aut. [3] licet. [4] e pari *aliquid* referre. [5] retribuere. [6] autem. [7] æquiparar aliquem jure. *fut.* [8] atqui. [9] sibi videri. [10] *subj* [11] 'art thou in-such-sort *(ita)* a wise °man, that thou perceivest not. [12] 'that neither to parents nor ancestors is so much reverence, con sideration, and sacred respect *(sanctitas)* due, and so much authority ascribe *(esse)* in the °estimation *(apud)* both of the gods and sensible *(sanus* men, as to °our country.' [13] sic. [14] cetera persequi. [15] inquiant. [16] inique facere de. [17] 'if he disapprove o *(improbare)* our constitution, sufficiently tried *(exploratus)* °by him.' [18] quod si quis viderit. [19] mores. [20] si nihilo minus. [21] qui si. [22] *fut. exact.* [23] triplicem admittere injuriam. [24] sibi videri. [25] dolens; animo commoto quod——*improbasset.* indig nabundus would here convey a false notion, for *indignatio* arises from a sense o

BOOK VIII.

ECHECRATES AND PHÆDON.

On the last Day of Socrates.

(From Moses Mendelsohn.)

Section 1.

Echecrates. Wast thou thyself, my Phædon[1], with Socrates on the day when he took[2] the poison in the prison; or did any body give thee an account of it?

Phædon. I was there myself[3], Echecrates.

Echec. What, then, were his last words? How did he expire? I am so anxious[4] to hear °this. Our[5] citizens of Phlius now seldom[6] travel to Athens, and nobody has for a long time visited us from that city, who could bring us the news. All we have learnt is, that Socrates † drank[7] poison °and died[8]; not the least circumstance more.

Phæd. What! nothing[9] of his condemnation?

Echec. O yes[10]; we were told of that; and[11] we wondered that he was allowed to live so long † after he had been condemned. How happened[12] that, Phædon?

Phæd. By mere chance[13], Echecrates. It so happened, that the ship, which the Athenians yearly send to Delos, was crowned with garlands the °very day before[14] his condemnation[15].

[1] Phædo. [2] bibere. *perf. indic.* See Excurs. I. [3] vero. [4] libenter audire: *connect by* enim. [5] neque——neque. [6] See D. sæpe. [7] haurire. [8] e vitâ migrare. [9] Neque vero——quicquam? [10] imo. This particle in a reply generally denotes the opposite of what the question implies to be the opinion of the questioner. Hence it is sometimes equivalent to *yes*: sometimes to *no*. It also affirms with *emphasis*, as *maxime*. patria præstat omnibus officiis? *imo* vero. [11] enim. [12] 'what was the reason?' *(in causâ esse.)* [13] 'it had by chance happened, Echecrates, *(evenire)* that, &c.' [14] [P. I. 310, *b*.] [15] 'sentence was past.' judicium facere.

SECTION 2.

Echec. And what ship is that?

Phæd. The same, the Athenians say, in which Theseus once carried the fourteen youths[1] to Crete, whose lives, as well as his own, he saved on that occasion. *The city, it is said, made ‖ at that time a vow to Apollo, if the young men should survive, to send yearly magnificent presents to Delos, and ever since it has kept its word with the god. † When the sacred ship is about to set sail, the priest of Apollo crowns the stern with garlands, and immediately the festival of the Theoria commences. This festival lasts[2] till the ship has been to Delos, and come back, and during this time the city is kept pure from all shedding of blood, and nobody is allowed by the law to be publicly executed. If the ship is detained by contrary winds, the condemned may[3] gain a long respite[4]. Chance on this occasion ordained, as I have said already, that the crowning of the ship with garlands happened the day before Socrates was condemned, and it was in consequence of this, that such a long time[5] elapsed between his condemnation and his death.

[1] his septem illi. [2] continuari. [3] P. I. 129. [4] longa mora (evenit alicui). [5] aliquantum temporis.

SECTION 3.

Echec. But the last day, Phædon; how did it pass? What did he say? What did he do? What friends[1] were by him in the hour of death? Or would the Archons[2] suffer nobody[3] to be with him; and did he expire without a friend near him?

Phæd. By no means[4]; many were present.

Echec. Come[5] then, Phædon, if you are at leisure[6], tell me every circumstance.

Phæd. I will try to satisfy you; for nothing is more delightful to me than to dwell on the memory[7] of Socrates, to[8] speak of him myself, or to hear others speak of him.

Echec. And[9] thy hearers, Phædon, are of the same mind[10]. Tell me therefore every thing as exactly and circumstantially as possible.

Phæd. I † was present, my friend[11], || but[12] my mind was in a strange state[13]. I felt no pity, nothing of that affliction[14], which we are accustomed to feel, † when a friend expires in our arms. The man seemed to me in a state of bliss, an object of envy, Echecrates. So sweet, so calm was his demeanour[15], in the hour of death; so composed were his last words[16]. His manner[17], methought, was not like that of a man who is descending to the shades of Orcus before his time; but like that of an immortal, who is sure, wherever he goes, to be as happy as possible[18]. How could I then experience that agonizing feeling, with which the sight of a common person dying usually affects the mind? And yet the °philosophical conversations of our instructor did not impart that unalloyed pleasure[19], which we were accustomed to derive °from them. We experienced a strange mingled feeling[20] of pleasure and of bitterness; for[21] the pleasure was constantly embittered by the painful reflection, that we should soon lose him for ever.

[1] familiaris. [2] 'the magistrates.' [3] non licet per aliquem. [4] See note [10], sect. 1. [5] parare se. *c. infin.* [6] 'unless any *(quid)* business hinders you.' [7] meminisse. [8] 'whether I speak °of him myself, or——&c.' (sive——sive.) [9] The '*and*' may stand. [10] similiter affectum hâbere aliquem. [11] 'my Echecrates.' *Amice* is not used in addresses of this kind. [12] atqui: only *one* proposition. [13] mirâ quadam ratione affectum esse. [14] angor. [15] 'so sweetly, &c.—— demeaned himself' (gerere se). [16] novissima verba edere. [17] habitus. [18] ut qui maxime. [19] tantum jucunditatis. [20] admixtio. [21] 'for whatever *(si quis)* pleasure was °there, it *(is)* was immediately interrupted by bitter grief *(pungens quidam dolor)*, because *(quod)* we should °so soon lose him.'

Section 4.

Phæd. All we who were present[1] found ourselves || in this strange state of mind, and our contending[2] emotions

soon showed themselves as strangely in our countenances. You might see [3] us at one time laugh, then weep, and [4] often at the same time a smile was about our lips, and scorching tears in our eyes. Apollodorus, however, outdid us all. Thou knowest the man [5], and the tenderness of his nature.

Echec. Know him! how should I not [6]?

Phæd. He made [7] the strangest contortions [8]. He felt [9] every thing much more intensely than we: he was [7] in ecstasies when we smiled; and † when our eyes were bedewed with tears, his were bathed [10] in them. We were much more moved ‖ at his °emotions than by the looks of our dying friend.

Echec. Who, pray, were all the persons present?

Phæd. Of the inhabitants of this city; Apollodorus, Critobulus and his father Crito, Hermogenes, Epigenes, Æschines, Antisthenes, Ctesippus, Menexenus, and some others. Plato, I believe, was ill.

Echec. Were there any strangers present?

Phæd. Yes! from Thebes, Simmias, Cebes, °and Phædondes; and from Megara, Euclides and Terpsion.

Echec. How [11]! °were not Aristippus and Cleombrotus °there?

Phæd. No! they were at that time detained at Ægina.

Echec. Was then nobody ‖ else [12] there?

Phæd. Not that I recollect [13].

Echec. Now then, my friend; what conversation took place?

Phæd. I will tell [14] °thee every thing, from beginning °to end.

[1] adesse. [2] invicem contrarius. [3] videres. [4] 'so that.' [5] homo. *connect by* nempe *or* enim. 'for you know the man and his tender *(mollis)* nature:' or 'for you know the man's tender nature.' [6] mirum ni norim. [7] *infin. Histor.* [8] jactare corpus. [9] 'was more violently moved by every thing.' graviter moveri. [10] plane perfundi lacrimis. [11] quid narras? nonne . . . .? [12] præter hos. [13] 'as far as I know, nobody.' [P. I. 56.] [14] 'will endeavour to tell.'

Section 5.

Phæd. While Socrates was in prison, we used to visit him daily. To this end we met in the Hall of Justice [1], in which sentence was pronounced upon him, and there we kept conversing till the prison-door was opened, which did not usually happen very early [2]. As soon as ‖ it opened, we went to Socrates, and generally spent the whole [3] day with him. The last morning we came earlier than usual [4], for we had heard the evening before [5], as we were going home, that the ship from Delos had arrived, and we determined to meet together, as it was for the last time, as early as possible [6].

When we were assembled, the turnkey, who used to open the prison-door, † came up to us, and asked us to wait a little, and not go in till he should call us. "For," said he, "the eleven officers are now taking off Socrates's fetters [7], and announcing to him that he must die to-day." Not long afterwards he came to call us. When we went in, we found Socrates just freed from his fetters, and lying on the bed; Xantippe, thou knowest her [8], sat near him in silent grief, and held their child on her lap. When ‖ she saw us, she began, as was natural in a woman, to mourn aloud [9]: "Ah [10]! Socrates, thy friends see thee to-day, and thou them, for the last time!" and a flood of tears followed ‖ these words. * Socrates † turned [11] to Crito, ° and said: "Friend, let [12] her be conducted home." Crito's servant led her away, and as she went, she cried, and beat her breast most piteously.

[1] curia. [2] haud admodum mane. [3] integer. [4] prius solito. [5] pridie vesperi. [6] summo mane. [7] solvere aliquem. [8] 'the woman.' [9] ejulare. [10] O! O! expresses *emotion*; ah! *displeasure*. [11] *partic.* [12] fac.

Section 6.

We stood, as it were, in a state of stupor. At last Socrates raised himself up in his bed, † bent [1] the leg which

had lately been fettered, °and while he rubbed[2] it with his hand, said, "O, my friends, what a strange °thing does that seem to be, which men call pleasant[3]! how wonderful! At first view[4], it appears the opposite of unpleasant, for nothing can be pleasant and unpleasant at the same moment; and yet no man can receive one of these feelings through his senses, without[5] immediately after feeling the opposite, as if they were fastened together at both ends[6]. Had Æsop remarked ‖this," continued he, "he would perhaps have invented the following fable: 'The gods †wished to unite with each other conflicting feelings; °but as[7] this could not be done, they tied them together at both ends, and since that time they have constantly followed each other's footsteps.' I am even now an instance of this. My fetters †caused me pain; °and now they[8] are removed, a pleasant sensation succeeds."

"By Jupiter!" said Cebes[9], °taking up the conversation, "thou remindest me well[10], Socrates: it is reported[11], that thou hast here in prison been composing poems, that is to say, turning Æsop's Fables into verse[12], and composing a Hymn to Apollo. Now many have asked me, and particularly the poet Evenus, what put it into your head to compose poems here, having never done °so before. If you wish me[13] to answer Evenus, should he again ask me (as he certainly will[14]), pray, what answer must I give him?"

[1] inclinare. [2] perfricare. [3] voluptas. [4] primum existimare. [5] quin. [6] 'both at the ends *(extremæ partes)*.'—connecti. [7] quum id fieri non poterat. [8] 'quæ *(vincula)* postquam; *or* quos *(dolores)* ——.' *abl. abs.* excipit. [9] ad hæc Cebes——inquit. [10] 'you have recalled this to my mind seasonably *(opportune)*.' *alicui* in memoriam revocare. [11] 'you are said to have——, &c.' [12] to turn into verse.—carmine modulari; illustrare. [13] si vis ut. [14] mirum ni interrogabit.

SECTION 7.

"Tell him, O Cebes," answered Socrates, "nothing but the truth; that I composed poems without the least intention

of contending with him[1] °for pre-eminence in poetry; for I know how difficult ‖ that would be[2]; but merely in consequence of a dream, to which I resolved to conform in all its possible meanings[3], and therefore to try my strength[4] in this sort of music,—poetry. It happened in this manner. I had formerly very often a dream, that † assumed various shapes, °but always gave exactly the same command,—Socrates, study music, and practise it. Till[5] now I considered this as such an incitement and encouragement as is given to those who are running a race. The dream, thought I, conveys no new command, for philosophy is certainly ‖ the most excellent music[6], and to this I have always applied; it would merely, therefore, animate my zeal, my love for wisdom, that it may not cool. But after sentence had been pronounced upon me, and the festival of Apollo delayed[7], for a time, my death, °the thought came into my mind, whether[8] I might not, perhaps, have been commanded to apply to music in its ordinary sense, and as I had leisure, I resolved that ‖ this thought should not vanish without effect. I began with a hymn in praise of the god whose festival was at that time being celebrated. But it afterwards occurred to me, that he who wishes to be a poet, must handle subjects that admit of fiction, and not themes for reasoning[9], and that there ought to be nothing of fiction in a hymn. Now, for my own part, I possess no gift of invention, and therefore I † availed myself of the inventions of others, and turned some fables of Æsop, that first[10] came to hand[11], into verse[12]. This answer, O Cebes, °mayest thou give to Evenus. Offer ‖ him also my salutations, and tell him, that if wisdom is the object of his pursuit, he may perhaps soon follow me. According to all appearance, I shall this day set out on a journey hence, at the command of the Athenians."

[1] contendere cum aliquo. [2] sit. [3] 'whatever it might mean *(significare)*.' [4] 'whether *(si)* I could °do any thing.' [5] 'and

hitherto I have thought (*arbitrari : imperf.*) that the dream by this command (*præceptum*) exhorted and impelled me as (*ita——quemadmodum*) we are wont to exhort °those who are already running.' [6] etenim maxima musica sapientia est.' [7] me mori inhibet. [8] an. [9] fabulas, non sermones facere. [10] ut quisque prius. [11] incidere in *aliquid*. [12] versibus tradere ; edere.

SECTION 8.

"And dost thou wish, °that this[1] °may happen to Evenus?" said ‖Simmias[2]. "I know him well, and as far as I can judge, he would not be very grateful to you for this °wish[3]." "How!" rejoined Socrates; "is then Evenus no philosopher?" "Methinks[4] °he is a philosopher," said Simmias. "Then he will certainly be willing to follow me," answered Socrates; "both he, and every man who deserves that name. He will not, indeed, lay violent hands on himself; for that, as every body knows, is not permitted." While he was saying this, he let down both his feet from the bed, and in this position continued the conversation[5]. *Cebes said[6], "How are we to understand ‖this[7], Socrates? It is not permitted[8], thou sayest, to make away with one's self, and yet every philosopher should be willing to follow a person who is about to die?"

"How! Cebes," said Socrates, "and thou, too, Simmias, have you not, °both of you, heard the philosopher Philolaus, and did he never say any thing to you on this subject?"

"Nothing explicitly[9], Socrates."

"Well, then, I[10] have often heard the subject discussed, and will willingly impart what I have heard to you. Methinks he †who intends to travel, has a motive[11] to inquire thoroughly about the country whither he is going, that he may acquire a right notion of it. This conversation, therefore, is suitable to my present circumstances[12], and till sunset we can discuss ‖no °subject[13] of greater importance."

[1] itane. [2] Tune Simmias, Hem! inquit, &c. cupere aliqui,—to wish him well. [3] non nimis gratum accipere. [4] ita, opinor.

[5] reliqua disputare. [6] inquit. [7] 'how *(quomodo)* dost thou say ‖ this ' *orat. obliq.* [9] manifesti, inquit, magnopere nihil. [10] ego vero. [11] interesse. [12] uti nunc mecum agitur. [13] nec quicquam.

Section 9.

I would ‖ now willingly impart to thee the whole conversation, which took place between Socrates and our friends, but——

Echecrates. But what[1]?

Phædon. I should be afraid of tiring you; for it would probably[2] take several hours to make all that Socrates said, as intelligible and evident to you[3], as it appeared to be to us on that day.

Echec. Truly! we ought[4] to take it ill of thee[5], to esteem[6] us so little interested in philosophy, and its father, our Socrates, as to suppose it [o] could be unpleasant to us to hear as much as possible concerning him. I think I shall be conferring a pleasure on all here present, if I beseech[7] thee, Phædon, to omit nothing[8]; for we also, as well as every reasonable[9] person, would gladly learn of that country, in which, as our poets say, an eternal retribution of all our deeds, whether good[10] or bad, awaits us, and of the arguments which, even † if we were less willing, would constrain[11] us to such belief. I, at least, and I believe the rest also, whom thou here seest, would with pleasure keep awake all night, if thou wouldest continue to speak of Socrates.

[1] Hem! quid est? [2] 'several hours would scarcely suffice, &c.' [3] si——futura sint. *Compare* Cic. Rosc. Am. 24. si crediturі sint. [4] oportebat. [5] graviter ferre aliquid *ab* aliquo. [6] 'dost thou esteem us ‖ so (adeo) hostile *(inimicus)*, &c.?' [7] si te rogem. [8] ut prorsus ne quid taceas. [9] sanus. [10] optimus quisque. [11] *pres. subj.*

Section 10.

Phæd. I foresaw this answer, Echecrates; for what man could be[1] so void of feeling[2] as not to take the warmest

interest in Socrates [3], though not personally acquainted [4] with him, who should have merely heard [5] of his mild, unassuming [6] disposition [7], as well as his incredible integrity, moderation [8], and true wisdom?

Echec. Dost thou not think, then, that it is natural, and not exacting too [9] much, to [10] request that we may hear from thee all that the man said?

Phæd. And yet I cannot, much as I could wish it [11], at present at least, grant your request.

Echec. Why not? Surely thou hast not another evasion [12] in readiness?

Phæd. To be candid, what I said at first was an attempt to escape from a perplexing °request; but now I must freely acknowledge, that I do not feel myself able to state, with the same order and clearness, all the arguments [13] by which our teacher raised himself to a firm conviction of the soul's existence after death, though they left not a doubt remaining, either in myself, or in any of those who were present.

Echec. But thou wilt at least be able to tell us something as to the main points [14] of what he said, that we may form an idea [15] of the man's doctrines.

[1] sit. [2] ferus. [3] in Socrate graviter moveri. [4] 'though *(etiamsi)* he were *(perf. subj.)* not acquainted *(familiaris)* °with him.' [5] non modo præsentem cognoscere, sed etiam famâ accipere aliquid.—*perf. subj.* [6] modestus. [7] natura; mores. [8] continentia. [9] et consentanea *(pl.)* nec immodesta. [10] 'what *(pl.)* we request of you, that you should, &c.' [11] vellem. [12] alio te subducere. [13] 'influenced by what arguments Socrates so °fully believed——, that he was firmly persuaded of it.' [14] capita quædam. [15] species quædam.

SECTION 11.

Phæd. I cannot do even that, dear Echecrates, for all his arguments are so intimately connected [1] °with each other, that [2] one without the other would appear unsatisfactory [3], and might leave a doubt behind [4], though, when taken together [5], they cannot but produce full conviction. Simmias

and Cebes gave us proof of this, who, when we others thought ourselves already convinced, would, nevertheless, by a single observation [6], make that totter which seemed to us to stand on the firmest foundation, so that we could not see how Socrates would maintain his assertion [7].

Echec. How did Socrates behave on such occasions [8]? Was he not indignant [9], as the sophists usually are, when any one brings forward objections against their assertions?

Phæd. On the contrary [10], he praised the acuteness of the young men, and was glad to find them so cautious [11]. Be assured that °the reason why our sophists will not brook contradiction °is, because their cause is not good, and they fear lest they should be taken off their guard, and their fallacies [12] detected. But the case was quite otherwise with Socrates; he had not the least wish to persuade any one by dexterity in argument, but only to awaken, and bring to the clear light of consciousness, what at no time can be denied, and what, as eternally true, lies hid in each man's breast, and seems, as it were, to slumber. Indeed, when Socrates had done speaking, it did not seem as if we had been hearing any thing new [13]; we only wondered that we had not long ago said the same thing to ourselves; so easy of comprehension, and so natural, did it seem to us.

[1] penitus cohærere. [2] 'that °when separated *(sejunctus)* and single, &c.' [3] infirmus, [4] locus dubitationis. [5] 'united and all-together *(universus)*.' [6] verbum. [7] sententia. [8] 'but what °did Socrates °do?' [9] *not* indignari. See the last note on Book vii. [10] imo. [11] prudentia. [12] fallaciæ, latebræ. [13] 'we seemed to have heard *(accipere)* nothing new.'

Section 12.

Echec. So much [1] do I admire the man already, that I would fain have occasion to admire him more [2]. It is really cruel of thee [3], Phædon, thus to excite our desire of knowledge [4], and not to satisfy it. Thou tormentest us, as Tantalus is said to be tormented in the infernal regions, for thou

hangest before our mouths, hungry as we are, the finest fruits without [5] our being permitted to touch them.

Phæd. Alas! dear Echecrates, I am sorry for it; but make thy choice [6]. Wilt thou rather that I should relate to thee, at this moment, something [7] incomplete [8], and without connection [9], than that I should, at another time, impart the whole connectedly and fully [10], as I heard it from the mouth of my friend and teacher? For I must confess, that on that day, after we had left Socrates, I wrote down, at home, most of what he had said to us, to impress it more firmly on my memory. If thou wilt only permit me to read over [11] my notes [12] once more, and to think over the whole, I hope then to give thee full satisfaction.

Echec. ‖In truth [13], dear Phædon, I do not half like letting thee escape to-day [14], particularly as [15], from thy °extraordinary eloquence [16], thou couldest certainly so impart thy information, as to leave us nothing more to wish for. Nevertheless, we shall be obliged to thee, if thou dost not find it troublesome [17], to instruct us at another time. But we must keep thee to thy word; therefore, tell us now, how the man ended [18]. Did he show [18] no uneasiness [19] when the hour of death approached! For, after all, he was but a man.

[1] quum—tum. [2] 'I would wish to have still more grounds *(copia)* for admiring him.' [3] iniquus es, quod. [4] discendi studium. [5] [P. I. p. 113, (*c*); 169, (4), (5).] [6] tute ipse optes velim, utrum malis, &c. [7] quidam. [8] abruptus. [9] incompositus. [10] composita et ratione. [11] recognoscere. [12] 'those notes:'—commentarii. [13] mehercle. [14] to let a man escape:—aliquem e manibus emittere. [15] quum præsertim. [16] [P. I. 56. See D. disertus.] [17] gravari. *c. infin.* [18] *orat. obliq.* [19] trepidatio.

SECTION 13.

Phæd. Uneasiness [1]?—Believe me, if I ever saw him composed and cheerful, it was on that evening [2]. Thou mayest judge of this from a single °incident [3]. When he had

been discoursing with us a long time on immortality, he observed that Crito had long been wishing to say something to him. He †turned to him, therefore, and asked, what it was he wanted?

"I?—nothing, my friend," answered Crito [4]. "But the man here, who is to administer the poison, never ceases importuning me [5], to ask thee not to talk so much. For the blood, says he, gets too much heated, and then the draught does not work so well. He tells me that he has often [6] been obliged to prepare a second, and even a third draught, for people who could not be prevailed upon to desist from speaking."

"Let him, in the name of the gods," said Socrates, "go [7] and see to his office. He may keep a second draught ready, or a third, if he thinks fit."

"This answer I have already given him," said Crito, "but the man will not cease his importunities."

"O! let him alone [8]," rejoined Socrates. "I have here to show my judges, that a man who has grown grey in [9] the pursuit of wisdom, can be of a cheerful mind in his last hours, since he can look forward to the greatest bliss after death."

[1] Hem! quid narras? [2] 'for *(enim)* on that evening, if ever at any other time *(alias)*, I saw him composed *(quietus)* and cheerful *(hilaris)*.' [3] ex eo quod. [4] At ille; Ego vero, &c. [5] 'has long been fatiguing me with his requests *(rogando)*, that you would talk as little as possible *(quam parcissime)*, for those [o]who talk much heat themselves *(incalescere)* too much, and that is not good *(convenire)* for those [o]who are going to take *(bibere)* the poison.' Obs. That the last clause is a reason given by the *jailor*. [On '*has long been*,' &c. see P. I. 413.] [6] *orat. obliq.* [7] jubere abire. [8] mittere. [9] I have grown grey in, &c.—per omnem ætatem incubui in.

Section 14.

Echec. Admirable[1]! But did he upon this say nothing as to what he thought of the state of the soul after death, and of what kind that happiness[2] is, which inspired him with so

much cheerfulness at the prospect of death? Did he think || it such as our poets have painted it, or had he a different conception of it [3]?

Phæd. We expected that he would speak on this subject, and I was preparing to question [4] him upon it, when, after having convinced us, by every argument, of the happy existence of the soul after death, he † anticipated our questions [5], and thus continued [6]:—

"Any of you might now say:—'Good Socrates! thou hast proved to us that we may confidently hope for a future life; but tell us, also, where will our separate spirits sojourn? what region of the sky will they inhabit? about what will they be employed? in what way will the virtuous be rewarded, and the vicious brought to a better mind?' If any one asks these questions, I answer thus:—Friend, thou askest more than I can [7] answer. I have guided thee through all the windings of the labyrinth, and shown thee the passage out; here my province ends [8]. Other guides may lead thee further [9]. Whether the souls || of the wicked shall have to suffer cold or heat, hunger or thirst, whether they shall wallow in the Acherusian marshes, or pass their time in the gloom of Tartarus, or in the flames of the fiery Phlegethon, till they are purified; whether || the happy shall breathe the purest air of heaven, on an earth glittering with gold and precious stones, and bask [10] in the rays of the morning, or whether they shall repose in the arms [11] of eternal youth, and feed on nectar and ambrosia; of all this, my friend, I know nothing. If our poets and fabulists are better informed on this subject, they may instruct others. It is, perhaps, no great harm, if [12] the imagination of certain people be employed and exerted in such speculations [13]."

[1] mirifice! [2] vita beata. [3] 'or otherwise.'
[4] quæsiturus fueram. [5] rem ipsam præoccupans. [6] inquit.
[7] quam meum est. [8] defungi officio. [9] te excipiant. [10] apricari.
[11] amplexus *(pl.)*. [12] *acc. c. infin.* [13] in talibus.

Section 15.

"As for me, I am content[1] with the conviction, that I shall always remain under the divine protection; that a holy and just Providence will rule over me in a future life, as it does in this; and that my true happiness consists in the beauties and virtues of my soul, such as[2] temperance, justice, freedom, humanity, benevolence, knowledge of God[3], furtherance of his views[4], and resignation[5] to his holy will. These beatitudes[6] await me in that future state, to which I am hastening; and more I have no occasion[7] to know, in order, with a confiding spirit, to enter on that path which conducts me thither. You, Simmias, Cebes, and other friends, will follow me, each at his appointed time. Inflexible fate (as a tragic poet might say) already beckons me. It is time that I should go into the bath; for I think it best to take the poison after I have bathed[8], that I may save the women the trouble[9] of washing my corpse."

[1] acquiescere in. [2] ut sim imbutus. [3] ut Deum noscam, &c. [4] consilia alicujus adjuvare. [5] obtemperare. [6] jucunditates. [7] non laboro. [8] lotus. [9] 'that I may not give trouble (*negotium facessere*).'

Section 16.

When Socrates had done speaking, Crito † took up the conversation[1], and said, "Be it so. But what orders hast thou to leave[2] these friends or me concerning thy children, or domestic affairs. What can we do to please[3] thee?" "[o] You will please me, Crito," said he, "if you live[4] as I have long been recommending you. I have nothing new to add. If you take proper care of yourselves[5], you will please both me and yourselves too, though you make no promises; but if you neglect yourselves, and are unwilling to follow the track which both to-day and in former times has been traced out for you, whatever you may now promise, will avail you nothing."—Crito replied[6], "We will do our utmost to obey

thee, Socrates. But what shall we do with thee after thy death?" "Just what you like," answered[6] Socrates, "if you can hold[7] me, and I do not escape[8] you." Upon this he † looked at us with a smile, ° and said, "I cannot persuade Crito, my friends, that he, who is now speaking, and has long been conversing with you, is really Socrates; he still thinks[9], that the body, which he will soon see a corpse[10], and which is now only my covering, is Socrates, and asks how I wish him to bury me. All the arguments by which I have been demonstrating, that as soon as the poison has taken effect, I shall no longer be with you, but be translated to the abodes of the happy, pass with him for a mere invention to console you and me. Be so good then[11], my friends, to be sureties[11] to Crito for the very contrary to that for which[12] he was surety to the judges. He was surety[13] for me, that I should not run away; but you must[14] be sureties to him, that straight after my death I shall betake myself hence, so that he may burn my corpse to ashes, or see it sink into the earth, and not be as deeply afflicted as if the greatest of misfortunes had happened to me. And do not let him say at my funeral, Socrates is placed on the bier[15]; Socrates is carried away[16]; Socrates is interred. For know, my worthy Crito," continued[17] he, "such expressions are not only contrary to truth, but also an affront[18] to the departed spirit[19]. Assume, then, a more confiding tone, and say, that it is my corpse only that is interred. As to any thing else[20], inter it, as it pleases thee, and as thou thinkest is conformable to the laws."

[1] *aliquem* in sermone excipere. [2] 'have you any thing concerning—— to order *(præcipere)*?' [3] gratum facere. [4] 'that you should so live.' [5] sui curam habere. [6] inquit. [7] *fut.* [8] *fut. exact.* [9] 'he has not yet ceased to think *(opinari)*.' [10] 'which will soon be a corpse.' [11] Itaque fidem interponite, amabo. [12] contra atque. [13] fide suâ polliceri. [14] oportet. [15] proponere. [16] efferre. [17] inquit. [18] obficere. [19] manes. [20] de reliquo.

Section 17.

Upon this he went into an adjoining room [1] to wash himself. Crito followed ‖ him, and bade us wait. We stayed and conversed, °partly on what we had heard; we [2] repeated, reflected upon, and thoroughly weighed some arguments, that we might duly convince ourselves of their force; and, moreover, the sorrowful expectation [3] of that greatest of calamities that was impending over us, occupied our conversation. It then seemed to us [4], just as if we had lost our father, and were henceforth to live as orphans in the world. When he had washed himself, they brought his children to him, for he had three, two little ones, and one grown up [5]; and the women of his house came also. He conversed ‖ with them, in presence of Crito, and when he had said to them [6] what he wished °to say, he dismissed the women and children, and came out to us again. It was near sunset, for he had stayed rather long in the next room. He sat down, but spoke very little; for soon after the satellite [7] of the Eleven came, †placed himself near him, °and said, "O Socrates! I do not look on thee, as upon other condemned persons [8]. *They are usually in a rage, and load me with imprecations, †when I announce to them, by command of the magistrates, that it is time to drink the poison; but thou seemest to me now, as thou hast seemed all along [9], the most composed and meek °person that ever set foot in this place. I know for certain thou dost not [10] blame me, but those (thou knowest them) whose guilt has brought thee hither. Thou knowest well, Socrates, what sort of a message I have to bring thee [11]. Farewell! and suffer with patience what cannot be altered." Having said this, he turned away, and wept. Socrates looked at him, and said, "Farewell, friend [12]! we will do what thou desirest." But to us he said, "What an honest fellow! he has often visited me, and sometimes conversed with me. He is a thoroughly

good and respectable man; see, how sincerely he weeps for me! But, Crito, we must indeed obey him; let [13] the poison, || if it is ready [14], be brought hither; if not, let him prepare it."

[1] cubiculum contiguum. [2] 'whilst we——repeated——reflected on ——weighed.' [3] 'we mentioned *(commemorare)* what *(= how great)* a calamity had befallen us.' [4] 'we seemed.' [5] adolescens. [6] *relat.* [7] lictor; viator. [8] aliud quid videre in aliquo: *or*, videre aliquem aliter esse, quam ceteros. [9] quum semper——tum nunc maxime. [10] ne nunc quidem. [11] denuntiare aliquid alicui. [12] *not* amice. [13] cura ut. [14] 'if it is pounded *(terere)*.'

SECTION 18.

"Why are you in such a hurry, Socrates?" replied Crito; "the sun, I believe, still shines [1] on the mountains, and has not yet set. Others, after this announcement, usually wait a considerable time before they take the poison, and indulge in eating and drinking [2]. We can still wait for some time." "Let them wait, Crito," answered Socrates, "who consider every delay as a gain [3]; but I have my reasons [4] for doing the contrary. I should gain nothing, I believe, † if I were to wait, and should only seem to myself ridiculous, if [5] I were covetous and tenacious of a life which is no longer in my power [6]. Do, therefore, as I wish you."

Upon this, Crito made a sign to the boy, who stood near him. The boy went out, † stayed some time to prepare the poison, ° and then brought in the man, who held the cup in his hand, to present it to Socrates. Socrates † saw him come, and said, "Good ° man, || give me the cup. But what must I do, when you have given it me?" "Nothing more [7]," answered the man, "than walk up and down [8] till thy feet are heavy [9], and then lie down [10], that is all [11]." And, having said this, he presented the cup to him. Socrates took it, dear Echecrates, with such composure, without a shudder, without the least change either in his colour, or in the expression of his countenance, and looking on the man

with those eyes of his wide open[12], "What thinkest thou," said he, "can one spare a few drops as a libation to the gods?" "There is not a drop more than is necessary," answered the man. "Well, then, I must let that alone," replied Socrates. "But I can, at any rate, offer a prayer over it:—Ye, who call me to you, ye gods, grant[13] me a happy journey[14]." With these words he raised the cup to his lips, and drank it off with the utmost serenity and composure.

[1] 'that the sun has not left the mountains.' [2] *here* potare : *not* bibere. [3] in lucro ponere. [4] 'am moved by certain reasons.' [5] 'if too covetous *(parcus)*, I should fear to lose even the least part of life.' [6] meæ potestatis. [7] tum ille ; nihil prorsus nisi, &c. [8] deambulare. [9] gravari. [10] *fut.* or *infin.* [11] nihil amplius. [12] 'with his eyes wide *(late)* open, which was peculiar to him.' [13] date ut——sit. [14] migratio.

Section 19.

Till this moment many[1] of us had been able to restrain our tears; but when we saw him[2] raise the cup to his lips, drink, and empty it, this was no longer possible[3]. As for myself, my tears did not trickle, but flowed down in streams[4], and I was obliged to muffle up my face in my mantle[5], that I might weep undisturbed[6], not for him, but for my own misfortune, who had lost such a friend. Crito, who could not restrain his tears any better than myself, got up, and wandered about the prison; and Apollodorus, who had been weeping almost the whole time, began now to utter his grief aloud, and to make such piteous moans, that the heart of every one of us was ready to break[7]. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and called to us, "Why are you so faint-hearted[8]? It was on this very account that I sent away the women, that we might have no moaning and whimpering; for I said to myself[9], it is best to take one's departure in the midst of benedictions[10] and good wishes."—When we heard this, we were ashamed of ourselves, and left off weeping.

He walked up and down till his feet were heavy, and then laid himself down on his back [11], as the slave had directed him. Upon this the °man, who had presented the poison to him, touched him with his hands, and felt his feet and his hips. * He pressed his foot, and asked, whether he felt °it. "No," said [12] Socrates. * He then pressed his leg, and immediately letting go of it, gave us to understand [13], that it was cold and stiff. * He † felt him again, and said, "As soon as it reaches his heart [14], he will expire [15]." Now his stomach began to grow cold. * He threw off his coverings [16], for they had covered him up, and said °to Crito, (these were his last words,) "Friend [17], forget not to sacrifice a cock to Æsculapius, for we owe him one." Crito answered, "It shall be done: hast thou any other command?" No answer followed [18]. Some time after this he was convulsed [19]. * The man covered him quite up, and his eyes remained fixed. When Crito saw this, he closed [20] his mouth and eyes.

This was the end of our friend, O Echecrates! a man [21], of all whom we have known, incontestably the most upright, the wisest and justest.

[1] plerique. [2] *partic.* [3] *not* fieri potest. [4] largiter fluere: *opp. to* stillare. [5] caput veste obtegere. [6] quiete. [7] graviter moveri. [8] 'have you so-completely *(adeo)* lost your fortitude?'—animis deficere. [9] 'for people say.' [10] gratulatio. [11] resupinus. [12] negavit. [13] ostendere. [14] ad cor pervenire. [15] *orat. obliq.* [16] corpus nudare. [17] mi Crito. [18] 'to him asking this, he answered nothing.' [19] convelli. [20] componere. [21] homo.

EXCURSUS I.

On the government of *si*, and *quum* (= *when*[1]).

Si.

SINCE *si* represents only a supposition, or *conceived* reality, one might expect beforehand that it would always govern the subjunctive. But this is not the case: for a supposition may be so stated as either to imply nothing with respect to the speaker's opinion, or, on the other hand, to carry with it some intimation that it is, in his judgement, possible, probable, &c. When *si* carries with it no such intimation, it governs the indicative; when it does convey any intimation of the kind, it governs the subjunctive.

(*a*) *Si* with the indicative leaves the *reality* of the supposition entirely out of the question, conveying no intimation whatever of its possibility or impossibility, of its probability or improbability: e. g. *Si fato omnia fiunt, nihil nos admonere potest, ut cautiores simus.—Scytharum legati ad Alexandrum, si deus es, inquiunt, tribuere mortalibus beneficia debes, non sua eripere: sin autem homo es, id quod es, semper esse te cogita.—Hæc quoque pericula tanta si effugero, satisne tutum reditum putatis fore?*—It is only from the context that it can be determined, whether the writer considered the supposition as a fact, or real occurrence: but this is not implied by the indicative, this mood being used in cases where the writer certainly does *not* conceive the hypothesis to be of actual occurrence: e. g. Cic. Rosc. Am. c. 53. *Si vos id suscipitis,—si idcirco sedetis,—cavete*, &c.

(*b*) *Si* governs the subjunctive when, together with the supposition, there *is* some intimation given of the writer's (or speaker's) opinion; as, for instance, that he considers it *possible*, or *probable*, or *doubtful*; or that he expressly *denies* its existence. In the last case, one of the *tempora conditionalia* (imperf. or pluperf. subjunctive) must be employed.—*Sapiens non dubitat, si ita melius sit, migrare de vitâ.* If *si—sit* is not here merely a supposition of the wise man's, it is a judgement intimated by the writer: 'if *(as is not improbable)* it is better, &c.' *Si—est* would either leave the supposition quite indefinite, or *affirm* the *melius esse* (not, however, *subjectively*, but as an acknowledged truth); or finally, if this were clearly implied by the context, deny it with a kind of irony. *Si—esset* would deny it absolutely, but only as a *subjective* opinion. If Cicero, in the example before quoted, had said: *Si vos id suscipiatis*, he would have con-

[1] The German *wenn* having the two meanings of 'if' and 'when,' the first part of this Excursus is employed in distinguishing the meanings of *si* and *quum*. It is omitted, as unnecessary for the English student.

veyed a *doubt* of the justice and impartiality of the judges. Had he said: *Si vos—susciperetis—cavendum esset*, he would have expressly *denied* the supposition, and consequently affirmed their uprightness.—If by virtue of an abridged hypothetical conclusion, the proposition *id si nemo potest negare*, implies, from the context, the objective truth of the supposition, the form, *si nemo possit negare*, would convey a *subjective*[2] *doubt* of its truth; whereas *si nemo posset negare* would expressly deny the truth of the supposition, and *si quisquam posset negare* affirm it. It must not be supposed that the *tempora conditionalia* of the subjunctive (*imp.* and *pluperf.*) are always *conditional* forms: they are never such, except when they are included within the sphere of *present* time. Whenever they bear relation to an occurrence in the sphere of *past* time, they are not distinguished by any peculiarity from the other tenses of the subjunctive. e. g. Cic. Leg. Man. 20. *Qui quum ex vobis quæreret, si in uno Cn. Pompejo omnia poneretis, si quid in eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri: cepit magnum fructum*, &c. This would stand *in oratione rectâ*, thus: *si ponatis, si——factum fuerit, in quo spem estis habituri?* so far as the possible realization of the supposition is to be intimated; or *si ponitis, si——factum erit*, so far as it is to be stated quite indefinitely, without any intermixture of *subjective*[2] opinion.

In orat. obliq., where the pres. or perf. would stand *in orat. rectâ*, either these tenses are retained, or the whole description is referred to past time, and the *tempp. relativa* (*imperf.* and *pluperf.*) employed. Cæsar prefers the former, Cicero and Livy the latter method. The former practice, if steadily observed, has this advantage, that even *in orat. obliquâ* the conditional forms are sufficiently distinguished from each other; whereas, in the other way, their meaning can only be determined by the context: e. g. Cæsar (Bell. Gall. 1, 34.) makes Ariovistus say: *si quid ipsi a Cæsare opus esset* (implying that he wanted *nothing* from him) *sese ad eum venturum fuisse: si quid ille a se velit* (which he could not deny) *illum ad se venire oportere.*

What has been said of *si*, holds good also of its compounds *nisi, etsi, etiamsi.* Even *utinam* and *O si!* agree with *si* in this, that, with the *conditional* forms, without a negative, they *deny*, and with a negative *affirm*: e. g. *O si tacuisset! O that he had held his tongue!* (but he *has not* held it): *O si non tacuisset! O that he had not held his tongue!* (but he *has* held it). *O si tacuerit!* leaves it undecided whether he really held his tongue or not.

It need hardly be mentioned, that even where *si* would otherwise take the indicative, it will take the subjunctive whenever there is any introduction of the *subjective* view of *another* person. Thus: *aves in capitolio publice aluntur, ut indicent si fures venerint* (*perf. subj.*): the subj. is here used to intimate that this was the *purpose of those who introduced the custom.*

B. THE CONJUNCTION *quum*, '*when.*' [See the next Excursus.]

Quum oftener takes the indicative than the subjunctive. The use of the subjunc-

[2] That is *subjective* that belongs to the *mind* of the thinking *subject* or *person* meant: that is *objective* that belongs to the *object* conceived.

tive with *quum* is not to intimate that the case is *uncertain*, or merely *supposed*, but either depends on the structure of the whole sentence or period, and refers the thought to the mind of another, or it denotes, indefinitely, the *repetition*[3] of the action or state, like the Greek optative. The case having thus lost its *objective definiteness*, I may conceive it to have occurred as often as I please: hence the *subjunctive*, the mood that expresses what is merely *conceived* or supposed; though, in this use of it, it is intimated that the supposed cases were of actual occurrence. Thus Cæs. B. C. ii. 41. *Quum cohortes ex acie procucurrissent, Numidæ——impetum nostrorum effugiebant.* Hence for *past* time, the verb of the principal sentence is always in the *imperfect*. In the same way the subjunctive is used after *quando* and *si* to denote the repeated occurrence of what is asserted: and in this use of it, the *imperfect subjunctive* after *si* must not be taken for a *tempus conditionale*.

EXCURSUS II.

On the use and government of the conjunction *quum*, and other conjunctions of the same class, as *dum, ut, ubi, postquam, quia, quod, quoniam, quandoquidem, siquidem.*

The conjunction *quum* has a twofold use, sometimes denoting *time*, sometimes the *ground* on which a proposition is based. To one or other of these two distinctions all its different meanings may be traced.

I. *Quum* as a particle denoting *Time*.

In this function *quum* may be translated by *while, as, when*,—seldom, *though*,—and always governs the indicative, except when a *subjective* reference is involved in the sentence. (See Excurs. i. B.) Its use, however, in this sense, is very limited.

a. The conjunction denotes the mere coincidence of two facts, so that they—(*α*) either both happen at the same point of time, as *quum veni, vici*;—or (*β*) a *momentaneous* fact, introduced by *quum*, happens whilst the other is still going on, as *hæc consultabant, quum nuncius allatus est*; or is immediately consequent upon the other, as: *vix dum epistolam tuam legeram, quum ad me venit*;—or (*γ*) the momentaneous fact introduced by *quum* in the sense of *when*, immediately precedes the other, as *quum patrem videro, proficiscar.* This *quum*, therefore, as a particle of time, does not denote—(*α*) the continuation of a fact, within the duration of which another contemporaneous fact happens (being thus distinguished from *dum*, and therefore not admitting of an *imperfect* when used in this sense);—nor (*β*) the completion or commencement of an action in time past,

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[3] See *Heindorf.* Hor. Sat. i. 3, 5.

before another action began. This it is which distinguishes *quum* from *ut, ubi, postquam* [1]. Instances will make the matter clear.

(*a*) *Quum Sext. Roscius occiditur, ibidem (Romæ) fuere.* Here the murder of Roscius is only a momentary act, so that *dum* in this passage would be incorrect; whereas, invert the sentences, and *dum* must be used: *dum Romæ sunt* [2], *Roscius occiditur*, just as *dum hæc geruntur.* For another distinction between *dum* and *quum*, see 2. *c.* Observ.

(β) *Hæc ubi (ut, postquam) filio nunciata sunt, statim exanimatus ad ædes contendit.* This sentence expresses, that the intelligence was delivered *before* the other hastened home. Substitute *quum* (after which *statim* must be omitted), and the meaning would be, that the two momentary actions happened at one and the same time; as, for example, in Cic. Cat. i. 3. *Dixi ego idem in senatu, quum consules—profugerunt.* So also Id. ad Quir. p. red. c. 7. *Si ego consul, quum fui, non fuissem.—Postquam, ut, ubi*, are equivalent in meaning, except that the last two conjunctions mostly indicate the *immediate subsequence* of the second fact; and therefore prefer the *perfect* to the *pluperfect*, and assume *statim, repente, primum*, and the like. When some writers, as Livy and Sallust, place *postquam* or *ut* in construction with the *imperfect*, their practice is contrary to the usage of other writers, but not contrary to the meaning of these conjunctions. The imperfect in such instances only indicates that a part of the thing happening was over, while the state consequent upon what took place, still remained. Liv. xlv. 3. *Postquam superatos saltus transgressosque in Macedoniam Romanos Rhodii audiebant, tunc legationem miserunt.* The reports were repeated, and continued in circulation after the dispatch of the ambassadors. Id. iii. 66. *Postquam ibi nemo vindex occurrebat, ad mœnia ipsa Romæ accessere;* even when they were already on their march, no avenger came to meet them. Id. xxxix. 49. *Ut super alium alius idem omnes affirmantes veniebant, tandem facta fides.* Sall. Cat. 6. *Postquam res eorum prospera videbatur, invidia orta est.* In the same manner, and for the same reason, Terence uses the *present*. Hec. v. 3, 28. *Postquam id video, nescio quid suspicarier magis cœpi.* Compare Plaut. Bacch. iii. 6, 2. *Postquam inanis sum.*

(*b*) Besides the preceding, *quum*, as a particle of time, has also another use, namely, to designate the nature of an age or occurrence, or of the position in which any person finds himself at a certain time. This is something different

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[1] Compare, however, the second observation in this Excursus.

[2] *Dum (whilst)* refers the occurrence to *present* time: at all events, the best authors, perhaps without exception, observe this practice, even when an *imperfect* or *pluperfect* follows: e. g. Liv. xxi. 7. *Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, jam Saguntum summâ vi oppugnabatur.* See Heindorf, Hor. Sat. i. 5, 72. An example, however, of *dum* with the *imperfect* occurs in Suet. Aug. 99. *Dum advenientes ab urbe de Drusi filiâ ægrâ interrogabant, repente in oculis Liviæ——defecit.*

from merely designating the relation of time between two events, in reference to their happening at the same time, or one of them immediately after the other; for example, Cic. Inv. i. 2. *Fuit quoddam tempus, quum in agris homines ——vagabantur.* Id. Ep. xv. 14. *Multi anni sunt, quum ille in ære meo est.* Id. Planc. 42. *Nunquam obliviscar noctis illius, quum tibi vigilanti pollicebar.* Id. Leg. Man. 12. *Nam quid ego Ostiense incommodum querar, quum classis nostra a prædonibus capta et oppressa est.* Let it be particularly observed, that in these instances the *subjunctive* after *quum* would be a gross fault. The following examples have a similar construction. Cic. Leg. Man. 14. *Nunc intelligunt, non sine causâ majores suos tum, quum hac temperantiâ magistratus habebamus, servire pop. Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse.* Id. Ep. i. 3. *Nuper quum te jam adventare arbitrabamur, repente abs te in mensem Quinctilem rejecti sumus.* In these instances the subjunctive also might be used (see Obs. 2.); but with this distinction, that then, only the relation of time between two things would be expressed. But Cicero meant, in the first example, to designate the nature or character of the age referred to, and in the second, to describe his own situation rather than the time when '*rejecti sumus.*' Compare for example, Ep. ad Att. ii. 9. *Epistolam quum a te avide exspectarem ad vesperum, ut soleo; ecce tibi nuncius, pueros venisse Româ.* Finally, the student must be cautioned against being misled by passages where *quum*, in this meaning, is found with the subjunctive, which, however, is not governed by *it*, but rendered necessary by the subjective relation of the sentence; for example, Cic. Ep. x. 3. *Scis profecto, fuisse quoddam tempus, quum homines existimarent, te nimis servire temporibus*[3]. Here the whole sentence is made dependent upon *scis*, and referred to the mind of *another* [i. e. here, of the person addressed].

OBS. In particular cases, which, indeed, seldom occur, *quum* must also be considered as a particle of time, although it may be translated by *though* or *notwithstanding;* for example, Cic. Ep. iii. 7. *Quum ea consequutus nondum eram, quæ sunt hominum opinionibus amplissima; tamen ista vestra nomina nunquam sum admiratus.* All sentences of this sort, in which *quum* is followed by *tamen*, either expressed or understood, are in fact elliptical, and were originally conceived in some such way as this: *Quum* (when) *ea consequutus nondum eram*,—putare quidem poteras me ista vestra nomina admirari—*tamen ea nunquam admiratus sum.* (See also Obs. 1.) There is a similar example in Cic. Verr. iv. 5. *Hæc quum omnia facta sunt, tamen unam solam scitote esse civitatem*, &c.

Why the conjunction *quum*, as a particle of *time*, should constantly require an indicative, except when it belongs to a sentence which contains a *subjective judgement*, needs no further explication.

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[3] [In a principal sentence this would be: *fuit quoddam tempus, quum homines existimabant te nimis servire temporibus.*]

II. *Quum* AS A CAUSAL PARTICLE.

Quum, as a causal particle, has a twofold use: it denotes, first, the logical ground of a judgement or proposition, and governs the subjunctive; secondly, the equivalence, or virtual identity of two judgements (of which one *involves* the other) and governs the indicative. This will be made evident, when we distinguish this conjunction from *quia*, *quod*, and *quoniam*.

a. In order to distinguish the use of *quum* and *quia*, we must keep in view the distinction between *logical* grounds, and between *real* and *moral* grounds (i. e. *causes* and *motives*[4]). A real and moral ground is, when two things are so connected with each other, that the one appears as immediately proceeding from the other (as an *effect*). Whereas a logical ground is, when the judgement steps in, in order to connect two things, as ground and consequence, or to deduce the one from the other; for instance, when one says, "We are walking, *because* the weather is fine," the walking is considered as the immediate and actual effect of the fine weather. Whereas, in the proposition, "*As* the weather is fine, we will go out," the going out is not grounded immediately on the fine weather, but upon the intermediate proposition, that it is not pleasant to go out in bad weather. So also in the sentence, "*Since* it is so cold, it will not rain," the intermediate proposition, that it does not rain in very cold weather, is understood, in order to connect the absence of rain with a great degree of coldness, as cause and effect. Whereas in the sentence, "It rains not, *because* it is cold," the connection of the latter proposition with the former is immediate. On this distinction is grounded the use of *quia* in one case, and of *quum* in the other. *Quum sit nobis consilium, ratio, prudentia, necesse est, Deum hæc ipsa habere majora.* This judgement is grounded on the intermediate proposition, which is understood, that God is in every respect more perfect than man.—*Socratis ingenium varioque sermones immortalitati scriptis suis Plato tradidit, quum ipse literam Socrates nullam reliquisset.* The reason assigned why Plato wrote, is here merely the proposition of the writer, founded upon his own

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[4] When we speak with strict philosophical accuracy, *real* and *moral* grounds are discriminated; the former relating to actual effects, visibly existing in time and space; the latter, to effects produced on our wills. But a specific difference between these (as both distinguished from a logical ground) has no existence in fact, and therefore is not expressed in any language. We may say equally well: '*I am in a perspiration, for the heat is very great;*' and '*I love him, for he is my friend.*' Both the effects are here immediate consequences of their causes. On the other hand, the logical ground *is* distinguished from real and moral grounds, both in Latin and in other languages (in Greek, ὅτι—ἐπεί. French, *parceque—puisque*. English, *because—as*, or *since*). '*I use a glass, because I am short-sighted,*' is a different assertion from, '*Since I am so short-sighted, I must use a glass.*' The latter is an abridged consequence; the former, not.

opinion, that when a man has himself written concerning himself, others will not transmit an account of him to after-ages. Substitute *quia*, and the last sentence is ascribed to Plato, as his motive for writing. So in all other cases of the same sort.

It is easy to see why *quum*, in this sense, always requires the subjunctive, since, with reference to its consequence, the ground of a proposition is never more than a subjective notion, however certain the thing may be in itself. That, for instance, man possesses reason, cannot be doubted, and is admitted as objectively true ; but that human reason entitles a man to infer the existence of a higher reason in the Deity, is a *subjective* judgement, and does not possess the clear evidence of an objective truth.

(*b*) *Quod* and *quia*, both derived from the relative pronoun, have, according to all observation, one and the same original meaning, and writers sometimes employ the one, sometimes the other, arbitrarily and indifferently ; for instance, Cic. pro Rosc. Am. c. 1. *Ita fit, ut adsint, propterea quod officium sequuntur ; taceant autem idcirco, quia periculum metuunt.* A similar instance occurs a few sentences further on. The only difference between the two conjunctions is, that *quod* is used in preference, where the cause is at the same time the object of the predicate in the principal sentence ; the reason of which is, that *quod* has retained more of the nature of the relative ; for ex. *Gaudeo, quod vales.* Here the *valere* is both the object and the cause of the joy, in which case '*that*' is generally used in English. But in old Latin *quia* is sometimes used even in this case ; for ex. Plaut. Cist. i. 1, 103. *Mater irata est, quia non redierim.*

Even when *quod* or *quia* is found in company with the subjunctive (which is not governed by the conjunction, but depends upon the conception of the writer), the distinction now pointed out between these conjunctions and *quum* still holds good : for ex. *Cæsar gratias agit Hispanis, quod provinciam sibi servassent.* The last clause, though in the subjunctive, is still both the cause and object of the first (*'for this—that'*), but only so considered in Cæsar's mind, which also accounts for the use of *sibi*. Substitute *quum servassent* (in which case *sibi* must be changed into *ei*), and the proposition would contain merely a *logical* ground[5] ; and the sentence would be translated, "*Cæsar thanked the Spaniards, because they had saved the province for him ;*" that is, I conclude he would not have done so, if they had not saved the province. Take as another example : *Erucius de me nihil suspicatus est, quod antea causam publicam non dixerim.* Cic. Rosc. Am. 21.—*Recordatione nostræ amicitiæ sic fruor, ut beate vixisse videar, quia cum Scipione vixerim.* Id. Am. 4.

(*c*) Nevertheless, there is one meaning in which *quum* and *quod*, or more strictly, *eo ipso, quod* (not *quia*) exactly coincide : this is, when one thought does not spring from another, but two thoughts are involved in each other, as in

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[5] The *cause* that might or did induce Cæsar to give thanks, being inferred from the fact of his having given them.

the following examples: *Quum hoc modo accusas, nonne hoc palam dicis? Quum*[6] *alterum aio, nego alterum.* But that *quum*, in such cases, is rather to be considered as a particle of *time*[7], is apparent even from this, that our '*when*' has the very same sense, "*When I affirm the one, I deny the other.*" In such sentences it is not asserted that the second action or thought is a consequence or further development of the first; but that it is already included in it[8]. As long, however, as *quum* denotes a relation of time only, as in the above examples under I. (*b*), it can never be changed into *quod*, inasmuch as *quod* expresses only a causal relation. In the following examples, however, *quod* might be substituted for *quum* with strict propriety. Cic. Off. iii. 40. *Quum Collatino collegæ Brutus imperium abrogabat, poterat videri facere id injuste.* Id. Rosc. Am. c. 25. *Sapienter fecisse dicitur (Solon), quum de eo nihil sanxerit, quod antea commissum non erat.* When used in this sense (provided no *subjective* judgement is implied, but the assertion is grounded on itself), *quum* can only govern the indicative; for in the last quoted example the subjunctive *sanxerit* is not dependent on the conjunction, but on the meaning of the writer, according to which the whole sentence is referred to the opinion of those who hold that Solon acted wisely[9].

(*d*) Lastly, something remains to be said of *quoniam*, derived from *quum jam*. In this conjunction also the notion of time is predominant, as in the English particle *since*. There are passages where *quoniam* is still found as a pure particle of time; for example, Plaut. Asin. iii. 13, 121. *Quoniam ambo nos delusistis.* Id. Aul. Prol. 9. *Quoniam moritur.* Cæs. B. G. v. 27. *Quibus, quoniam pro pietate satisfecerit, habere se nunc rationes officii.* So also in the usual form of transition; for example, Cic. Leg. Man. *Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam.* *Quoniam*, then, as a particle of time, imports, first, a *finished act*; then, generally, a *proposition universally acknowledged*, on which something said is grounded; without, however, denoting the causal relation with any thing like the same precision, as if *quia* or *quum* were employed. Hence it may be substituted for either of these conjunctions, provided only that the ground on which the proposition is based is something

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[6] Here *quum* may be translated by the prep. *in* or *by*, and the participial substantive. See P. I. 488 (*c*).

[7] *Quum*, though a particle of time, obviously gets the meaning of '*by this* circumstance, *that*,' in this way. When I, by saying one thing, necessarily say another also, at the same time, it is plain that this other thing must have been already contained in the former. The case is different when I say: *dum lego, scribo.* [The one relation is that of *necessary inherence*; the other that of *accidental coherence*, a merely *external* connection with respect to *time*.]

[8] Thus, in the examples given, the sense is, that the accusation itself is as good as saying so and so; and the affirmation of the one a virtual denial of the other.

[9] [The sentence does not of itself convey any intimation of Cicero's *own opinion* of this legislative enactment.]

finished, especially with the accessory notion of not admitting of alteration (= *since once for all*). *Quoniam*, for instance, stands for *quia*, Sall. Cat. 31. *Tum ille furibundus, quoniam quidem circumventus, inquit, ab inimicis præceps agor, incendium meum ruinâ restinguam;* here, evidently, the immediate motive of his resolution is declared. Cic. Planc. 33. *Quoniam tu ita vis, nimium me gratum esse concedam.* A logical ground [10] here, at least, cannot be thought of; but it is very apparent in other examples; as, Cic. de Fat. 4. *Quoniam tantum natura a naturâ distat, quid mirum est, has dissimilitudines ex differentibus causis esse factas?* Id. Fin. iii. 19. *Quoniam illa vox inhumana dicitur, certe verum est, etiam iis, qui aliquando futuri sint, esse propter ipsos consulendum.* The use of our particle of time '*since*,' is exactly in conformity to that of *quoniam*, &c. '*As*' [11] is also so far analogous to *quoniam*, that it often denotes principally a notion of time, and only remotely a causal relation; for example, *As we have proved the first point, let us*, &c. In cases of this sort, neither *quia* nor *quum* (with the subjunctive as a causal particle) can be used; for example, Cic. Rosc. Am. 41. *Quoniam fidem magistri cognovistis; cognoscite nunc discipuli æquitatem.* Id. Flacc. 15. *Quoniam de communi totius Asiæ crimine dictum est, aggrediar jam ad singulas civitates.* Since, then, *quoniam* always denotes pre-eminently the notion of time, and never directly expresses a causal relation, it is easy to see why it always, even when it approaches in meaning to the causal particle *quum*, except in the *oratio obliqua*, requires the indicative. Nor can it surprise us, to meet occasionally with *quum* instead of *quoniam* (= *quum jam*), as is not uncommonly the case in Cicero. But in such instances it never governs the subjunctive; for example, Ep. vii. 32. *Tu—— quum instituisti, et mihi vides esse gratum, scribe ad me*, &c., where Ernesti, without reason, substitutes *quando* [12] in the text. Compare Ibid. xvi. 12. *Tu, quum eo tempore mecum esse non potuisti, quo ego operam et fidelitatem desideravi tuam, cave festines*, &c.

Quandoquidem appears not to be distinguished from *quoniam*, just as *quando* has exactly the same use as *quum*, when *quum* is a particle of time. Lastly, *siquidem* coincides with both these particles, and this coincidence is grounded on the use of *si*, as is explained in the first Excursus, under I. (*b*) [13], to which *quidem*, in the sense of *certe*, is appended merely as a strengthening particle.

RESULTS.

(1.) *Quia* and *quod* denote the immediate *cause* or *motive*, both of them as something existing independently of any conception of ours, and govern the

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[10] [See (*a*) in this Excursus.]

[11] [The German particles are *indem* and *als*.]

[12] [Here, however, Schütz reads *quomodo*; Nobbe, *quando*.]

[13] [This part of the first Excursus is omitted in this translation.]

indicative ; the subjunctive is not used, except when the one or the other is made to depend upon the conception of another person. Where the cause or motive is at the same time the object of the verb, *quod* is used.

(2.) *Quum* denotes (*a*) a logical ground (a ground, that is, the relation of which, to its consequence or effect, depends entirely upon the conception of the speaker), and governs the subjunctive ; (*b*) the necessary connection [or virtual identity] of two judgements, in which case it coincides with *quod*, and governs the indicative.

(3.) *Quoniam*, *quandoquidem*, and *siquidem*, considered more as particles of time, denote something finished, something that has occurred and cannot be altered, on which something else rests ; and intimate a vague or remote causal relation. Sometimes *quum* with an indicative is substituted.

Obs. 1. When *quum* may be translated by '*though*' or '*notwithstanding*,' whether it be followed by *tamen* or not, it is a pure causal particle, denoting a logical ground by an elliptical form of the sentence, as has been already explained under I. *b*, (*a*).

Obs. 2. We can now account for an anomaly of speech, according to which *quum*, as merely denoting time, can be substituted for *dum* and *postquam*, and in the first case governs the imperfect, in the second the pluperfect, and both in the subjunctive mood. (Compare I. (*a*) and (*b*).) This apparent anomaly may perhaps be explained by considering, that originally the notion of time and that of a logical ground were combined, as in the following example ; *Cæsar, quum Gallos vicisset, in Britanniam transjicere constituit.* Then the involved notion of the logical ground being forgotten, the conjunction came to be looked upon again as a mere particle of time, and used in sentences where no logical ground was implied ; for example, Liv. xxii. 66. *Quum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, tum demum literæ a Terentio consule allatæ sunt.* Nevertheless it will be found by attentive observation, that in such cases *quum* is only admissible where the logical connection of the principal and accessory sentence is closer than a mere connection in the order of time, to express which *dum* and *postquam* are appropriate. On this principle the subjunctive might be, in some measure, justified even in the passage just quoted.

EXCURSUS III.

On the use of the Particles *idem, et ipse, etiam, quoque, item.*

Though it is stated in grammars that *idem* and *et ipse* sometimes stand for *etiam* or for *item*, it must not from this statement be erroneously inferred, that it is always indifferent which of these expressions is used ; for it will appear

from what follows, that they can be substituted for each other in much fewer cases than is generally supposed.

(1.) *Idem*, according to its primary meaning (*'the same'*), is used in the sense of *'also'* only where different properties are attributed to the same subject or object; and the main point on which stress is laid is, that both or *all* the attributes belong to that *one* subject or object. *Etiam* and *quoque*, on the contrary, direct the attention to the predicates themselves, or their opposites: for example, there is a difference between, *Discipulum confirmavit atque etiam laudavit*, and *Discipulum confirmavit et eundem laudavit*. So also, *Num, quod probat multitudo, hoc idem doctis probandum est?* Here the attention is directed to this point, that the multitude and the learned do not approve of *the same thing*; but substitute *doctis quoque*, and the words in opposition, *multitudo* and *docti* are made prominent. So long as it makes no great difference in the sense, it is optional to use *idem*, or *etiam*, or *quoque*. But when the whole import of the sentence lies in this, that different attributes are united in *one* person or thing, no other word than *idem* can be properly used; for example, *Nil prodest, quod non lædere posset idem. Musici, qui erant quondam iidem poetæ. Idem* is used with peculiar propriety after the connective pronoun *qui*, and has much the same meaning as the adverbial phrase, *'at the same time.'*

(2.) The use of *et ipse* requires still greater attention. This phrase is used when what is asserted of the person or thing spoken of, is at the same time asserted, by implication, of *other* persons or things. When this is to be implied, *et ipse* must always be employed, when the subject or object is expressed only by the pronoun relative; for example, *My friend, who also* (i. e. as well as *others*) *was there. Vespasiano Titus, filius, successit, qui et ipse Vespasianus est dictus.* The pronoun could not, moreover, from its nature, receive any emphasis from an *etiam* or *quoque*, if either of these particles were placed after it. Just so *et ipse* is used whenever other pronouns are emphatic; *he also; they also; this also;* and so in all other instances. The *ipse* then stands as a substitute for the other pronoun: for example, *Darius cum vinci suos videret, mori voluit et ipse.* In such cases *et ipse* is the only correct expression; the English *'with'* (*them, others, the rest*, &c.) must frequently be so translated: for example, *If all go, I will go with them. Socrates chattered with the rest. My brother had arrived with the rest. The city of Locri had gone over to the Carthaginians with the rest.* Liv. xxix. 6.

(3.) Even *etiam* and *quoque* cannot be substituted for each other arbitrarily. The latter is merely a *copulative* particle, and is always placed after the word which is meant to be emphatic; the former is, for the most part, at the same time an *augmentative*, and enhances what has been said; for example, *Et multos alios Platonis legi libros, et Theætetum quoque;* that is, *among many other books of Plato, I have also read the Theætetus.* Whereas *Theætetum etiam* would mean *'even* the Theætetus,' implying that, to read the Theætetus was no ordinary feat. Hence *etiam* may be used with the comparative in the sense of *still*, but not *quoque*. Besides this, *quoque* can render prominent only a single notion;

etiam, on the other hand, a whole sentence. This, for instance, is the case when it is in construction with *quin* or *si*; for example, Cic. pro Cœl. 23. *Quin etiam Herennium dicere audistis*, &c. Id. de Prov. Consul. 1. *Etiam si paulo minus utilis vobis sententia videretur*, &c. Here *etiam* must always precede *si*; but if it be referred to a single notion, *etiam* would be placed after *si*; in which case also *quoque* may be substituted: for example, Cic. Dejot. 3. *Vel si etiam filium misisset. Si me quoque diligis.*

(4.) Lastly, *item* is distinguished from all the preceding particles by its always meaning '*in like manner*,' '*likewise*,' '*just so*,' for which expressions *also* may be substituted; for example, *Feciti item ut prædones solent.—Romulus augur cum fratre item augure.—Literæ mittuntur isti a patre vehementes, ab amicis item.*

EXCURSUS IV.

On the use of the Adverb *parum*.

THIS word is misemployed whenever it is used indiscriminately in the sense of *little*. This meaning it never has; but always that of *less than enough*, *less than is wished*, consequently, *not enough*; *too little*. This is seen at once from *nimium* and *parum* being put in opposition to each other; for example, Cic. Or. i. 22. *Etsi suus cuique modus est, tamen magis offendit nimium quam parum*. So in innumerable other passages. The mistake might easily arise from this, that the word sometimes may be translated '*little*,' without impropriety; for example, *parum modestus homo—est parum prudentis*, 'it shows little wisdom.' Here it is a kind of softer expression for *non*; but its primary notion is, nevertheless, evident, and must always be kept in mind when we would employ the word, which is never admissible in those forms of speech in which the notion of '*too little*' would make nonsense; for example, *parum abest, quin*, instead of *non multum abest. Socrates inimicorum æque parum minas veritus ac legem*, instead of *non magis quam.—Homines furiosi nunquam adeo sunt pacati, ut parum eos metuere oporteat*, instead of *non magnopere.—Quam parum gloriæ cupidus homo!* (in *praise*) instead of *non*. Cicero, for instance, in such exclamations, and particularly after *quam*, generally uses *non*: for example, pro Dejot. 6. *Quam non modo non incredibiliter*, &c. Ligar. 3. *Vide, quam non reformidem!* It must, however, be remarked, that *quam ut* cannot follow *parum*, though it may follow *nimium*.

EXCURSUS V.

On the use of *alii* and *ceteri*.

Alii and *ceteri* are distinguished in use like the Greek ἄλλοι and οἱ ἄλλοι. The former *(alii)* places *some others* in opposition to *one* or *several*, and always refers to another *alii*, expressed or understood; the latter *(ceteri)* places *all the others* in opposition to *one* or *several*. '*Some*' or '*several*' can only be rendered by *alii*, when *others* are referred to, in opposition to *some* or *several*; otherwise it must be rendered by *nonnulli*, *aliquot* [1]. '*Others*' must always be rendered by *alii*; but '*the others*,' or '*all the others*,' must never be rendered by *alii*, but by *ceteri*. It is, moreover, to be remarked, that where *we* usually say '*others*,' though *all others* are understood, the Romans invariably used *ceteri*; for example, Cic. Leg. Man. 14. *Sed hæ res, quæ ceteros* (*other* generals) *remorari solent, non retardarunt (Pompeium)*.

Obs. 1. The preceding view of *alius*, which is the only right one, being settled, the student must be warned against a misapplication of it, into which he may easily fall. It is well known that *alius* has a reference to *several*; *alter*, to *two*; but it seems to have been less considered, that when of an indefinite number, *two only* are ever thought of as being, at any given time, in activity or mutual operation, *alter* only can be admitted; for example, Cic. Tusc. ii. 17. *Qui alteri exitium parat.* Off. i. 2. *Si cum altero contrahas.* Ep. vi. 3. *Ut alterum confirmarem.*—In all which examples *alter* must be translated by '*another*.' With as little propriety can one use *alius*, *alium*, in such instances as these: '*Historians, orators, and poets, delight each other by their works;*' *in vicem sese* is the proper translation. *Alius alium* mean only, *one this, another that.* In very rare instances, however, *alius* is put for *alter*, as in Suet. Tit. 7. *Titum propalam alium Neronem et opinabantur et prædicabant.* So also Tac. Hist. iv. 73. 4. Curt. ix. 8. 5.

Obs. 2. *Ceteri* is, moreover, distinguished from *reliqui*, in that the former comprehends, generally, *all the others of the same sort*; but the latter indicates *all that remains of a determinate number* or *magnitude, when any part is taken away*; for example, Cic. Rosc. Am. 1. *At tanto officiosior, quam ceteri?* Whereas, Cic. Leg. iii. 7. *Ut ei magistratus reliqui omnes pareant, excepto tribuno.* Their use is, however, often arbitrary. Yet one can never say; *ceterum est*; *nihil ceteri facere*, instead of *reliquum est*; *nihil reliqui facere.* Livy and Cæsar sometimes use *alius* instead of *reliquus*; for example, Cæs. B. G. i. 41, 4. Liv. ii. 13, 23. v. 55. vii. 19, 26. viii. 8. xli. 14.

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[1] *Alius* in the sense of *different* (as in *hujus rei alia* ratio est) is not spoken of here.

EXCURSUS VI.

On the use of the Accusative with the Infinitive, after Conjunctions and Relatives.

It is sufficiently understood, that in the *oratio obliqua* all independent sentences are in the accusative with the infinitive, and dependent or accessory sentences in the subjunctive. When deviations from it *seem* to occur, as is not unfrequently the case, it must be kept in mind, that every sentence introduced by a conjunction, an interrogative particle, or a relative pronoun, is not necessarily an accessory sentence.

(1.) When the relative *qui* stands only for '*is*,' and joins two sentences grammatically independent of each other, then, in the *obliqua oratio*, it is necessarily put in the accusative with an infinitive: for example, Cic. Verr. v. § 160. *Res ad eum defertur; esse civem Romanum qui quereretur; quem* (= et eum) *jam ingredientem navem a se retractum esse.*

(2.) Every *question* in the *oratio obliqua* is evidently indirect, and as such stands in the subjunctive; but when it is virtually *not* a question, but a mere *exclamation*, which in the form of a question conveys a vehement *negation* or *affirmation*, the sentence is evidently independent, and stands in the accusative with an infinitive. This is apparent from the circumstance, that in all such cases the question may be turned into an affirmation or negation; for example, *num (an) ferri posse?* instead of *ferri non posse. Nonne verum esse?* instead of *verum esse.* In the same manner *quomodo?* is used for *nullo modo*:—*quando?* for *nunquam*:—*quoties?* for *sæpissime*:—*unde?* for *nullâ ex parte*:—*ubi?* for *nusquam*, and so forth. Examples, especially in Livy, Cæsar, and Tacitus, are to be met with in all forms and in abundance.

(3.) Lastly, according to the same analogy, Livy and Tacitus, and also Sallust, take the liberty of placing an accusative with an infinitive after conjunctions, such as *quia, quippe, quanquam, etsi*, inasmuch as the two first have the sense of *enim*, and the two last of *attamen.* Liv. xxvi. 27. viii. 23. iv. 15. Tac. A. xii. 63. Liv. vi. 27. Sall. Jug. 98; and even after *nisi forte*, when used ironically for *forsitan* or *videlicet.* Tac. Ann. ii. 33. *Nisi forte clarissimo cuique plures curæ, majora pericula subeunda, delinimentis curarum et periculorum carendum esse.* So also in construction with *ut—ita*, in the sense of *et—et.* Tac. Hist. i. 17. A. i. 12.

Obs. When in elliptical sentences after the relative *qui*, or the conjunction *quam*, with an accusative and infinitive preceding them, instead of the full repetition of the same predicate, merely the subject in the accusative follows. This is to be attributed to that fondness for the *assimilation* of cases, which is also particularly conspicuous in the Greek language; for example, Cic. Ligar. 1.

Se in ea parte fuisse, quâ te, Tubero, quâ virum omni laude dignum, patrem tuum; instead of *quâ tu, quâ pater tuus fuistis. Puto te beatiorem esse, quam me;* instead of *quam ego sum. Quam ego* would be a gross solecism.

EXCURSUS VII.

On the use of the Indicative in apparent and real Conditional Sentences.

It is by no means to be considered as an anomaly of the Latin language, that in certain apparently conditional sentences no conditional tense occurs, but instead of it, the corresponding tense of the indicative. Nor again, that instead of the *present conditional—esset*, the present indicative—*est* is employed; instead of the *perfect conditional—fuisset*, the perfect indicative—*fuit*, and when the sentence refers to another, *erat* or *fuerat* is employed. In these cases, as well as in many other respects, on a more close observation the greater logical accuracy of the Latin language will be apparent. The above employment of the indicative occurs, where it only *appears* that the reality of a proposition is dependent on another sentence, whether actually expressed or only understood. Example: *Apprime poteras me defendere, si facta mea laudares.* Here the praising of the actions is represented as the condition, not of the *ability* to make a successful defence, but of the successful defence itself. The defence failed, because the actions were not praised. In order, however, to put the exact reference of such sentences in a clear light, we need only supply the ellipsis, somewhat in this manner: *Defendere me poteras, et bene defendisses, si facta mea laudares*, or *laudavisses.* This example will be sufficient to show what is here meant. What has been remarked of *posse* (which holds good, perhaps, whenever it occurs in a hypothetical proposition) is also true especially of the following words; *debere, oportere, decere*, and, in general, of all expressions that denote *convenience, necessity, expedience, utility*, and similar notions; as *satius est, par est, rectum, justum, idoneum, optimum*, and so forth. Now it makes no difference, whether the conditional sentence with '*if*' or '*but*' is actually expressed in English or merely understood. In both cases the indicative is used in the Latin; for example, Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 16. *Attamen et justum poteras, et scribere fortem.* 'Thou mightest have.'—Cic. Arch. 10. *Itaque, credo, si civis Romanus Archias non esset* (here not a *tempus conditionale*, but the imperf. subj. used instead of *forte non erat*, see Excursus X.) *ut ab aliquo imperatore donaretur, perficere non potuit;* in which passage the reading *potuisset*, which Ernesti prefers, must be rejected. Vell. ii. 3. *Is——fragmine subsellii ictus, vitam, quam gloriosissime degere potuerat, immaturâ morte finivit.*

Cic. Cat. i. 1. *Ad mortem te duci jam pridem oportebat.* [In most of these cases the German idiom coincides with the Latin, for we can say in the same manner, '*du musstest zum Tode geführt werden,*' instead of '*du hättest—geführt werden müssen;*' but in the Latin the conditional tense would here be a solecism.] According to the examples hitherto given, even such sentences as this, *Possum hoc facere, nisi puderet*, if they were to be met with, would contain no anomaly, and *Possem hoc facere, nisi puderet*, would even be wrong. But it must be observed, that the present indicative is not, in this manner, followed in construction by the present conditional [1], but that the sentence is generally completed ; *Possum hoc facere, et, nisi puderet, facerem ;* or another construction is adopted, as, *Possum facere ; sed pudet.* In the same way is explained the use of the expression *longum est*, and not *longum esset*, 'it *would be* tedious ;' for example, Ter. *longum est, si tibi narrem.*

The following sentences may be equally well explained from the preceding observations : Cic. Div. i. § 26. *Deiotarus rex, quum ex itinere quodam proposito revertisset, conclave illud, ubi erat mansurus* (et mansisset) *si ire perrexisset, proximâ nocte corruit.* Compare Just. i. 7. Curt. iv. 8. Liv. ii. 38. *moriendum fuit.* Also, Tac. Ann. i. 35. *ferrum deferebat* (et prorsus detulisset) *in pectus, ni proximi prensam dextram vi attinuissent.* Liv. ii. 50. *vincebat (et plane vicisset) auxilio loci paucitas, ni——evasissent ;* for the imperfect expresses only the beginning of the transaction. Lastly, the use of *prope* and *pæne ;* Tac. H. i. 64. *prope in prœlium exarsere* (= exarsuri erant) *ni Valens——admonuisset.* Suet. Cæs. 52. *Pæne Æthiopiâ tenus Ægyptum penetravit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset.*—It is a solecism to place *pæne* in construction with the conditional tense, whatever be the nature of the condition. Hor. *Quam pæne furvæ regna Proserpinæ vidimus.—Pæne me arbor depressit.*

Lastly, the same construction is also extended to the infinitive. Tac. Agr. 13. *Agitasse C. Cæsarem de intrandâ Britanniâ satis constat, ni——fuissent.* Cæs. B. G. i. 14. *Si alicujus injuriæ sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse (not* futurum fuisse) *difficile cavere.*

There are, however, many other examples which do not belong to this construction, but in which the indicative occurs in sentences actually conditional, and *instead* of the conditional tense : for example, Cic. Off. ii. 1, 5. *Nec me angoribus dedidi, quibus eram confectus, nisi restitissem.* The wearing away through anxiety did not actually take place, but was prevented by resistance ; consequently, the conditional tense *confectus fuissem* should properly have been used. So also Tac. Hist. i. 13. *Si te privatus lege curiatâ apud pontifices, ut moris est, adoptarem, et mihi egregium erat, et tibi insigne.* Other examples are, Plin. Paneg. viii. 5. Sall. Jug. xxvii. 2. Flor. iv. 11, 19. iii. 3. iv. 3. Tac. Ann. i. 42. Hist. i. 16. Liv. xxxiv. 29. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 2. Hor. Od. ii. 17, 27. —In all these examples the indicative has its foundation only in this, that the

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[1] the present ; *puduisset*, the preterite of the *conditional.*

thing is represented as infallibly about to take place, if it had not been prevented. (Gr. 243.) These cases must be carefully distinguished from those of the former sort.

A full and acute treatment of this subject may be found in Krüger's "Grammatical Enquiries," part ii. p. 331, of which we have here given only the principal results.

EXCURSUS VIII.

Some of the most important Principles and Rules for the Connection of Sentences in Latin.

1. ALL sentences are either *simple* or *compound*. Every sentence is simple, in which the connection of the subject with the predicate occurs but once, in order to express a single thought; and such sentence is in its simplest form, when it contains nothing more than a subject and predicate; for example, *Dormitat Homerus; mensa est rotunda.*—When the subject, or predicate, or both, are rendered more definite by the addition of other notions, the sentence still remains a simple one; for example: *Optimus pater filium optimum maxime amat.* Since of all the parts of speech substantives (including pronouns), adjectives, adverbs, and verbs (which latter are always themselves *predicates*), are the only words that of themselves express notions, all the *complements* of a simple sentence must be either *substantives*, *adjectives*, or *adverbs*.

Whenever in the place of those simple complements, entire or abbreviated *sentences* are introduced, the sentence immediately becomes compound, because in such sentences there is more than one predication; for example: *Nuncius, qui missus est* (= missus), *simul atque me conspexit* (= extemplo), *nunciavit, fratrem mortuum esse* (= mortem fratris). All these sentences, which compose in this manner the complements and parts of a compound sentence, are called in grammar accessory clauses; the subject with the predicate, taken without such accessory clauses, form the principal sentence. All accessory clauses, therefore, serve only to the more accurate specification either of the subject or of the predicate in the principal sentence.

Since every accessory clause occupies the place either of a substantive or of an adjective, or of an adverb, as is evident from the preceding example, these several clauses may be divided into *substantive*, *adjective*, and *adverbial* clauses. In the Latin language the following are their distinguishing marks:—

(*a*) SUBSTANTIVE (accessory) CLAUSES are those that begin with *ut* (occupying the place of the subject or of the object), and all clauses expressed by the accusative with the infinitive.

(*b*) ADJECTIVE CLAUSES are all those that begin with relatives, such as *quia, ubi, unde, quantum*, and so forth.

(*c*) ADVERBIAL CLAUSES are all those that begin with the other conjunctions, *quia, quum, si*, and so forth.

2. As, however, it frequently happens that an adjective occupies the place of a substantive, and a substantive, with or without a preposition, the place of an adverb (for example :—*honesta pete,—fortitudine vincere,—per dolum necare*), the same takes place also with the accessory clauses. Where a substantive clause is required, we often find an adjective clause ; for example,—*nescio, ubi vis*, instead of *locum, quo vis* ;—*dic, quid velis*, instead of *rem, quam velis* ;—*miror, quod fugisti*, instead of *hanc rem, quod*,—and so forth. Nay, even an adverbial clause may occupy the place of a substantive clause ; for example, *miror si id verum sit*. Such clauses, therefore, must not be considered as exceptions.

This may be sufficient to make the following observations intelligible [1].

3. By the observations already made the grammatical connection of sentences with each other is determined. Considered *grammatically*, all principal sentences appear to be *coordinate* with each other ; and every accessory clause is subordinate either to another accessory clause, or to the principal sentence, for grammar confines itself entirely to the *form* of sentences. But the *logical* connection of sentences, or their connection with reference to their contents, is a distinct consideration. When, for instance, a sentence, with reference to its contents, serves in any respect to the more accurate specification of another sentence, and does not stand alone and independent, then it is *subordinate* to that other sentence ; but if it stands in a relation of equality, as it were, to several other sentences, being itself either independent or dependent on a third sentence, then it is *coordinate* with those sentences, and *subordinate* to the third sentence. The grammatical relation of a sentence is in general dependent upon the logical ; yet all languages allow the grammatical relation to be sometimes distinct from the logical. Hence, in English for instance, it frequently happens, that sentences *logically subordinate* are *grammatically coordinate*, and are placed by the side of each other as principal sentences. "*Socrates interrupted these beneficent occupations, and marched against the enemy.*" Here the two actions are connected, and the interruption of the occupations must precede the march to the field, so that the first sentence is *logically subordinate* to the last. On the other hand, the last sentence may be made subordinate to the first, by considering the march to the field merely as a species and manner of interruption. Both forms of construction may be exhibited grammatically : *Socrates*,

[1] The whole theory of sentences is fully exhibited in a very solid Treatise of Professor Herling's, of Frankfort, that has been lately published, entitled *Grundregeln des deutschen Styls, &c. (Fundamental Rules of German Composition ; or, the Structure of Periods in the German Language.* Frankfort on the Mayne. 1823.) A book which I would particularly recommend to all teachers of German Composition.

intermissis salutaribus illis negotiis, contra hostem profectus est; or, *Socrates hæc intermisit salutaria negotia, quum adversus hostem profectus est.* Hence it appears, that it is often left to the option of the writer to decide in what logical relation he may think fit to contemplate the thoughts he has to express; and that to this logical relation he must adapt the grammatical construction of his sentences. The following sentence,—"*Miltiades routed the Persians, and they fled not to their camp, but to their ships,*" may be rendered in three different ways, quite distinct in their grammatical relation:—*Persas ita fugavit Miltiades, ut non castra, sed naves fugâ peterent*; or, *Persæ, fugati a Miltiade, non castra, sed naves petebant*; or, *Persæ fugati, omissis castris, naves petebant.*

4. We may here observe a difference between the Latin and English languages well worth attention; namely, while the former, at least in the carefully constructed sentences of the historical style, strives to represent the logical connection of sentences with each other by corresponding grammatical forms, our language allows much greater freedom in this respect, and frequently either makes logically subordinate sentences grammatically coordinate, as principal sentences; or, conversely, makes sentences, logically independent, subordinate, by means of conjunctions and relatives.—The examples just quoted are sentences of the first sort; and those of the last sort are not rare: for example, Materials, book vi. sect. 6. "*While Philip, with restless activity, was occupied in establishing the peace of his kingdom, and in training his army for defence and attack, the warlike king of the Pæonians died.*" The accessory clause, "*while Philip was occupied, &c.*" might be allowed to remain such in the Latin, if this had been related already in the foregoing part of the narrative, and the repetition only served to fix the time of the king's death. It might, however, be expressed in a different manner: "*Philip was occupied in the establishment of his kingdom, and during this time the king died.*" Here it is made palpable, that the first sentence is more than a mere accessory clause, as it is in the grammatical form. Further: "*While I am promoting thy interest, thou seekest in every way to afflict me.*" Here the relation of opposition is evident, without being grammatically expressed. The first sentence can then only become an accessory clause, when the thing need not be affirmed independently. This case, however, most frequently occurs when *we* connect facts wholly independent with another sentence, by means of relatives[2]. (See Book v. sect. 16. note [6].)

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[2] What is here said will be rendered clearer by the application of it to some passages in the "Materials," on which I here add Grotefend's remarks.

(*a*) I. 4. "Pelops——appeared in Argos, where his descendants united themselves with those of Danaus." Not *ubi ejus*, but *cujus ibi*. The ground of this lies in the greater logical precision of the Roman language in the connection of sentences. The relatives *qui*, *ubi*, &c. have originally the office of adding to a *substance* (i. e. *substantive* notion) some *predicate* or *accident*. In the sentence in question, it is not of *Argos*, but rather of *Pelops*, that an assertion is to be

The first business of the translator is to examine closely the *logical* connection of the English sentences, and then to express this as closely as possible in Latin; and where either the sentences may be conceived connected in different ways, or the connection between them, though not really different, may be expressed by different grammatical forms, to choose that form that best suits the general construction of the sentence on other grounds. How different the grammatical construction may often be, without any difference in the *logical* connection, the following examples may show. "*He who loves his brother, must be ready to lay down his life for him.*" *Ita amare quemque fratrem suum oportet, ut vitam etiam pro eo deponere paratus sit.*—"As Xerxes fought in a very narrow sea, he could not spread out his fleet in battle array." *Xerxes in adeo angusto mari conflixit, ut classem explicare non potuerit.*—"I was just expecting it, when I received the news." *Quum maxime expectabamus, nuncius allatus est.*—"I told thee this, that thou mightest understand, &c." *Hæc quum tibi dicebam, te intelligere volebam*, &c.

In such a logical concatenation of sentences with each other, the following points must be steadily kept in view. (1.) That it belongs, in general, peculiarly to the accuracy of the historical style, of which Livy may pre-eminently serve as a model; whereas Cæsar, who wrote Commentaries, allows himself greater liberties. (2.) That the clearness of the style must not suffer thereby, which, indeed, in the Latin is seldom the case, provided the connection is in itself logically accurate, and the parts of the sentence succeed each other according to the logical course of ideas (which, in historical narrative, is always the order of time).

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made. Strictly speaking, each of the sentences is logically independent of the other, and the English *where* is not used to add the latter sentence to the former as an *accident* of it, but simply to indicate a close connection between the two principal sentences: for *here* or *there*. The Romans do, indeed, use their relatives in this way instead of demonstratives, but only at the beginning of a period, where in English they are very rarely employed*. Hence, to write good Latin, the translator must consider carefully, whether the sentence introduced by an English relative can fairly be considered as an *accident* to the *substance* of the preceding sentence: if *not*, the relative must not be retained in Latin. According to the alteration recommended, the second sentence may be considered as an *accident* to *Pelops*.

VII. 4. "They gave themselves the honourable name of sophists, which their own conduct changed into a term of reproach." Modern writers often offend against the propriety of the Latin style by connecting *independent* assertions (as here, '*which their own conduct changed*') by the relative pronoun, and thus giving them an *accidental* character. Thus: 'he begged his assistance, which he also received:'—Here a Roman writer would either arrange the two sentences as a period, or, in animated narration, omit the connecting particle altogether: '*Auxilium rogavit. Obtinuit.*' So: 'he promised to give him his daughter, which promise he kept:'—'*Filiam pollicitus est ei. Dedit.*'

* i. e. *now:* they are very commonly so used by Milton, and those of our early writers who are fond of adopting *Latin* constructions.

(3.) That no detriment must be done to the vivacity of the narrative. Letters, speeches, and pathetic descriptions may and must admit of much greater latitude. We must especially mark what are the most prominent points in the narrative, and if these can be placed in logical subordination, arrange each in such order that they may possess all the clearness that they can receive. For example: "In this Hannibal showed his greatness, that he was the first who surmounted the Alps, and attacked the Romans in their own territories." This sentence may with propriety be translated:—*Hannibal eâ maxime re virtutem præstitit suam, quod primus Alpes transgressus, Romanos in ipsorum terrâ impugnavit.* If, however, both circumstances are intended to be made prominent, neither of them must be allowed to sink into an accessory clause, but they must be translated thus: *Quod primus et Alpes transgressus est, et Romanos—— impugnavit.*

5. The logical connection of sentences having been properly examined, it remains to determine what form should be chosen for each sentence, since there are several forms for every class of accessory clauses.—We must here observe only the following principal points:—

(*a*) *Of Substantive Clauses.* Since a substantive clause stands, as has been shown above, in the place of actual substantives, it happens not unfrequently in translating it, that an interchange of substantives and substantive clauses offers itself. It will indeed be seldom necessary, when a substantive sentence stands in English, to place in Latin a simple substantive in its place; but the case much more frequently occurs, in which a substantive must be changed into a substantive sentence, especially in the case of abstract substantives, in the use of which the Latin language is so sparing. For example:—"The choice of a general seemed to be very difficult." *Imperatorem deligere difficile factu videbatur esse.*—"The satisfaction of all wishes is impossible." *Desideriis omnibus satisfactum esse, id contigit nemini.*—"I aimed at the discharge of my duty." *Id agebam, ut officio satisfecisse viderer.* Such an exchange is often not less necessary in concrete nouns, especially when the corresponding word is wanting in the Latin language, or even merely in order to give fulness to the period. In these cases adjective clauses may be introduced with or without pronouns; for example: "Let us consider the consequences of his conduct." *Videamus, quæ inde eventura esse (consequuta esse) putemus.*—"The grounds of our actions are not a matter of indifference." *Non est nihili ducendum, quibus quæque rationibus adducti fecerimus.*

(*b*) *Of Adjective Sentences.* Adjective sentences assume three different forms; they are either complete with the relative, or abbreviated by means of a participle, or of a substantive in apposition. The complete form is usually employed when the sentence actually involves a closer specification of the substantive, and is, in this case, preferable even to the form of apposition; for example: "Disobedience to parents, the most shameful violation of a child's duty." *In parentes obstinatio, quâ pessime læditur pietatis officium.*—"Speech, the noblest distinction of man." *Oratio, in quâ*

est summa generis humani præstantia.—"Fidelity, the characteristic virtue of the Germans." *Fides, quæ propria laus (innata virtus) Germanorum genti tribuitur.* The mere participle assumes by abbreviation, in Latin composition, more the nature of an adverbial sentence; and thus in translating from Latin into English, it is commonly resolvable into such a sentence by means of conjunctions. On this head, see Book v. sect. 16, note [6].

(*c*) *Of Adverbial Sentences.* These assume, in Latin, five different forms:—(1.) the complete form, by means of conjunctions;—(2.) the abbreviated form, by ablatives absolute;—(3.) the abbreviated adjective form, by means of participles;—(4.) they are expressed by means of substantives, with or without prepositions;—(5.) by means of adverbs. With regard to the first form there is nothing worth noting; with regard to the third, I have just been speaking. The second form is the most important. The foundation of the ablative absolute here discovers itself. It is well known that the ablative in Latin expresses *circumstance, manner,* and so forth, occupying in most instances the place of an adverb. When we say,—manu feci, fortitudine vici, prælio fudi, and so forth, what, in such cases, is the ablative but an adverb, or a word limiting the signification of the predicate? Most adverbs, indeed, are but adjectives in the ablative case. Hence it is evident, how an adverbial clause is virtually changed into an adverb, by expressing both subject and predicate in the ablative. Hence also, in translating from Latin into English, such ablatives may be considered as again resolvable into adverbial sentences by all sorts of conjunctions, that serve in general to form accessory clauses.

That adverbial clauses may be rendered into Latin by mere substantives, with or without prepositions, will not so often happen; for example: "Ambassadors were sent to enter into negociations for peace." *Missi sunt legati de pace.* Whereas the converse much more frequently happens; namely, that such substantives, used adverbially, are to be translated from English into Latin by ablatives absolute, or by complete adverbial clauses. For examples, see Br. 438. Just so one is never forced to express adverbial clauses by adverbs, but the converse very often happens. Instead of thereupon, meanwhile, on that account, we read, *Quo facto, quâ re cognitâ, quibus dictis, dum hæc aguntur (geruntur), quæ quum ita sint, quo factum est,* and similar expressions.

Which we should select of the different forms, depends partly upon the nature of each sentence, and the structure of the period, and partly on the possibility of a participial construction, and cannot at present be further discussed.

6. Lastly, we must take into particular consideration, whether accessory clauses are *coordinated* or *subordinated* to each other. All accessory clauses, that belong in common to a principal sentence, are either *coordinate* or *subordinate* with reference to *each other,* or they are neither of the two.

(*a*) Coordinate sentences are known by three marks:—1st, they must

belong to the same class ; 2dly, to the same part of the principal sentence (to the subject, to the predicate, or to the object of the predicate) ; 3dly, they must have the same reference to this part, or, in other words, they must not be *subordinate* to each other.

EXAMPLES.

a. Coordinate substantive clauses are :—*Quod per fines Sequanorum Helvetios transduxisset; quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset; quod ea omnia non modo injussu suo et civitatis, sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset; quod a magistratu Æduorum accusaretur——satis esse causæ arbitrabatur.—Hortatur, ut——vel ipse de eo statuat, vel civitatem statuere jubeat.*

β. Coordinate adjective clauses :—*Reperti sunt complures nostri milites, ——qui in phalangas insilirent, et scuta manibus revellerent, et desuper vulnerarent.* Livy would perhaps have made this sentence thus :—*qui, quum in phalangas insiluissent, scutis manibus revulsis, desuper vulnerarent.* By this mode of expressing the sentence a twofold subordination would occur.

γ. Coordinate adverbial clauses :—*His traditis, omnibusque armis ex oppido collatis——in fines Ambranorum pervenit.—Quodsi se ejecerit, secumque suos adduxerit, et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos aggregaverit, exstinguetur——hæc pestis reipublicæ.*

OBS. None but coordinate sentences can be joined by copulative or disjunctive particles.

(*b*) Furthermore, as all accessory sentences, taken collectively, are subordinate to the principal sentence, so they may also be subordinate to each other ; and that is the case, when one serves for a nearer specification of the meaning of the other. There being three classes of accessory sentences, it is possible to form nine different sorts of this secondary subordination, for sentences taken two and two.

a. A substantive clause,—

(1.) With a subordinate substantive clause :—*Cupio, ut confidas, te esse posse beatum.*

(2.) With a subordinate adjective clause :—*Censeo, te satis habere (earum rerum) unde vivere possis.*

(3.) With a subordinate adverbial clause :—*Miror, quod, quum sis dives, minus esse velis beatus.*

β. An adjective clause,—

(1.) With a subordinate substantive clause :—*Sapientes sunt isti, qui ita statuunt, esse virtutem omni operâ sectandam.*

(2.) With a subordinate adjective clause :—*Hunc regem laudo, quia eâ est virtute, quam in infimo quoque esse velimus.*

(3.) With a subordinate adverbial clause :—*Hos maxime odi homines, qui dum simulant honestatem, ad flagitia quælibet sunt parati.*

γ. An adverbial clause,—

(1.) With a subordinate substantive clause :—*Cæsar, quum vidisset, non longe abesse equitatum, &c.*

(2.) With a subordinate adjective clause :—*Hannibal captis hostibus, qui persequebantur.*

(3.) With a subordinate adverbial clause :—*Quibus rebus cognitis, quum arbitraretur Cæsar, &c.* (The first sentence is here subordinate to the second.)

In these examples two sentences stand in subordinate relation ; but the same relation may exist between several, each successive clause being subordinate to that which precedes it, as in the following example : Cic. Cat. iv. 7. *Jactantur voces, quæ perveniunt ad aures meas, eorum, qui vereri videntur, ut habeam satis præsidii ad ea, quæ vos statueritis hodierno die, transigunda.*

(*c*) Lastly, a third case may occur, where several accessory sentences are neither coordinate nor subordinate with reference to each other ; but have no other connection than their common relation to one and the same principal sentence. This is the case,—

α. When the accessory clauses are equally subordinate to one and the same principal sentence, but belong themselves to different classes ; for example : *Nuncius, qui missus est, ubi me conspexit, nunciavit, fratrem mortuum esse.* Here the sentences, *qui missus est, ubi me conspexit, fratrem mortuum esse*, are of different classes, and, consequently, not coordinate.

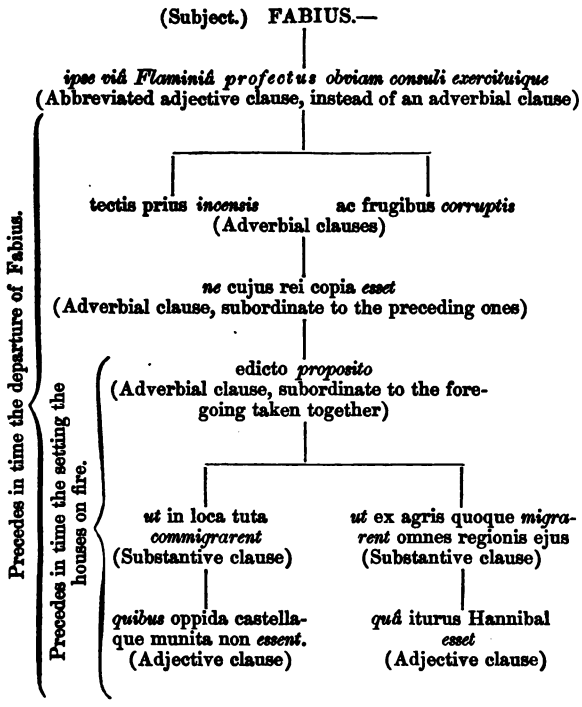
β. Or, where the accessory clauses, though belonging to the same class, have not the same reference to the principal sentence :

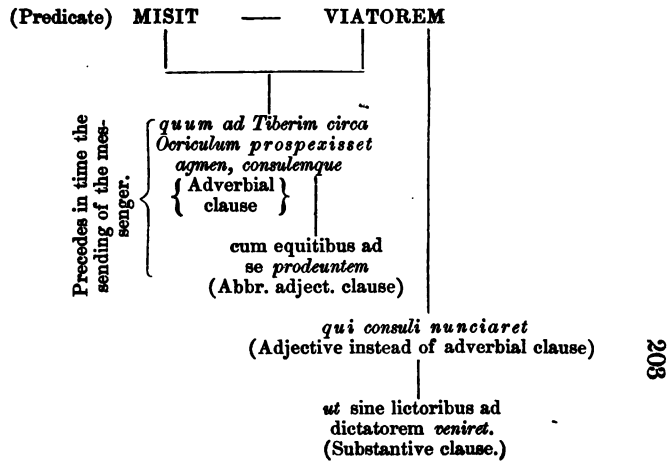
(1.) either the one, for instance, belongs to the subject of the principal sentence, and the other to the object, as, *Cæsar, milites hortatus, conscendit equum, qui præsto aderat ;*

(2.) or, when they are adverbial clauses, modifying the predicate of the principal sentence in a different manner ; as *quum hostis adesset* (time), *quia confligere nolebat* (cause), *sese recepit ;*

(3.) Or, lastly, when one sentence has a close connection with the principal sentence, and a third is subordinate to both of them taken together ; for example : *Si hostis adesset,—priusquam collegæ se junxisset, confligere nolebat ;* here, without the junction of his colleague, he would not fight,—if the enemy were present. In the same way, two accessory clauses, in conjunction with each other, may be subordinate to the principal sentence ; for example : *Magnum detrimentum rempublicam capturam,—si Pompeium misisset, si quid eo fieret.* Compare with this, Lib. iii. 14, 5.

THIS may serve as a first introduction to a more thorough knowledge than is ordinarily afforded of the construction of Latin sentences. The analysis of a complicated period is an excellent exercise, of which we have annexed as an example the following from Livy, xxii. 11.—Fabius—edicto proposito ut quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti commigrarent in loca tuta ; ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis ejus, quâ iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cujus rei copia esset ; ipse viâ Flaminiâ profectus obviam consuli exercituique, quum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se prodeuntem, viatorem misit, [illegible] nciaret, ut sine lictoribus ad Dictatorem veniret.


(Subject.) FABIUS.—
ipse viâ Flaminiâ profectus obviam consuli exercituique
(Abbreviated adjective clause, instead of an adverbial clause)
Precedes in time the departure of Fabius.
tectis prius incensis
ac frugibus corruptis
(Adverbial clauses)
ne cujus rei copia esset
(Adverbial clause, subordinate to the preceding ones)
Precedes in time the setting the houses on fire.
edicto proposito
(Adverbial clause, subordinate to the foregoing taken together)
ut in loca tuta commigrarent
(Substantive clause)
quibus oppida castellaque munita non essent.
(Adjective clause)
ut ex agris quoque migrarent omnes regionis ejus
(Substantive clause)
quâ iturus Hannibal esset
(Adjective clause)


(Predicate) MISIT —— VIATOREM
Precedes in time the sending of the messenger.
quum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum prospexisset agmen, consulemque
Adverbial clause
cum equitibus ad se prodeuntem
(Abbr. adject. clause)
qui consuli nunciaret
(Adjective instead of adverbial clause)
ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret.
(Substantive clause.)

EXCURSUS IX.

On *quisquam, quispiam, aliquis, ullus.*

HEINDORF says, in his notes upon Horace, Sat. i. 4, 5, "Quisquam, '*any single one*,' '*any one at all*,' is distinguished from *aliquis*, and its equivalent *quispiam*, by this, that it only stands in those sentences in which the tone and emphasis would fall, in our language, upon the '*single*,' or '*at all*;' hence it is especially used where there is a negation expressed or understood, and that the reading *quispiam* is often erroneously substituted for it; that, however, it is also used without a negation, as in Ter. Eun. Prol. 1. *Si quisquam est, qui placere se studeat bonis Quam plurimis,—In his poeta hic nomen profitetur suum.* Nep. in Ages. 6. *Agesilaus, qui perniciosissimum fore videret, si animadversum esset, quemquam ad hostes transfugere conari, cum suis eo venit. Quisquam* is used substantively in exactly the same sense as *ullus* is adjectively."

To this judgement we assent, as far as the right apprehension of the meaning of *quisquam* is concerned, a meaning which is evident from all examples. For example, Cic. Rosc. Com. 6. *Estne quisquam omnium mortalium, de quo melius existimes tu? estne quisquam, qui tibi purior, pudentior——videatur?* And Livy very often annexes *unus* to *quisquam:* for example, iii. 45. *Quum multi magis fremerent, quam quisquam unus recusare auderet.*—iii. 55. ii. 9. a. Ex. xxviii. 37. xxxii. 20. Heindorf has also hit the right meaning of *quispiam*, which is used adjectively, as a substitute for the indefinite article, and is so far related in meaning to *quidam;* used *substantively*, it stands for the indefinite pronoun '*any*,' and is thus distinguished from *quidam*, which mostly occurs only adjectively. Ter. Eun. v. 2. *Quid si hoc quispiam voluit deus.*—Cæs. B. G. v. 35. *Quum quæpiam cohors ex orbe excesserat.*—Cic. Fin. v. 11. *Ad aliam rem quampiam.*—Cic. Verr. i. 10. *Nego esse quidquam dictum, quod——vestrum cuipiam esset obscurum.* Nevertheless, between *quispiam* and *quidam*, used adjectively, there is still a difference observable; in the example from Cæsar, for instance, one could not substitute *quædam cohors* for *quæpiam cohors.* (Compare Excursus xiii.) *Quædam cohors* would convey the notion of *only one* cohort, thought of by Cæsar, but without further designating the *particular* cohort; whereas *quæpiam cohors* conveys the notion of *several*, advancing at different times. After *si, nisi, ne, num, quo, quando*, and especially in hypothetical sentences, even without a conjunction (e. g. *dicat quis; probus quis nobiscum vivit.* Hor. Sat. i. 3, 56.) *quis* usually occupies the place of *quispiam;* yet the converse is also not without examples; Cic. Quint. 15. *Si cuipiam pecuniam ademit.* It is quite unnecessary to consider the part *ali* as left out before this *quis.*

So far, therefore, Heindorf's view would only be confirmed and illustrated [illegible]s; but with regard to *aliquis* it is by no means always equivalent to

quispiam. The former word was probably used in two senses, which the Romans distinguished by intonation. When the *ali* is quite unemphatic, *aliquis* is identical in meaning with *quispiam;* for example, Cic. Att. xiii. 15. *Exspectabam aliquem meorum.*—Or. ii. 3. *Majorem aliquam esse causam.*—Off. i. 32. *Implicari aliquo certo genere vivendi.*—Deiot. 13. *Tibi illum succensere aliquid.* Compare this with Nat. Deor. iii. 35. *Si grando quidpiam nocuit.* Compare *dicat aliquis*, with Verr. iii. 46. *iniquum me esse quispiam dicet.* Quite different, however, is the import of *aliquis*, when the *ali* is emphatic; then it implies the *nature, dignity, magnitude*, or *importance* of that which it modifies, just as *quisquam* and *ullus* imply *existence* or *non-existence*. In this case the *ali* must not be omitted, even after the conjunctions before mentioned; for example, Cic. Sen. 13. *Si aliquid dandum est voluptati; senectus modicis conviviis potest delectari;* if *any* value is to be granted to pleasure *(however great or small it may be)*. On the other hand, *Si quidquam dandum est*, would here signify a *denial*, that pleasure has *any* value *whatever*. Cic. Epp. ii. 2. *Quâ injuriâ nemo unquam in aliquo magistratu improbissimus affectus est, eâ me consulem affecit. . . .* Here *in aliquo magistratu* stands in opposition to *me consulem;* hence it means in *any whatever, even the least magisterial rank*. Substitute *in ullo magistratu*, and the meaning is, *in no magisterial rank whatever*, without reference to its being *high* or *low*. Cic. Phil. xiii. 2. *Si aliquid de summâ gravitate Pompeius, multum de cupiditate Cæsar dimisisset, pacem stabilem nobis habere licuisset.* The *aliquid* in opposition to the *multum*, means, *if it were but a little*. Substitute *quidquam*, and it would be a mere negation, that Pompey would give up *any* thing of his dignity;—'*if he had given up any thing*,'—'*but he has given up nothing*.' *Si ullo modo fieri potest*, means, 'if it is *by any means whatever* possible;' *si aliquo modo* means, '*if the end may be compassed by any means, be they of what kind they may*.' Hence *aliquo modo* always means '*in some measure*.' In such sentences as the following, neither *quisquam* nor *ullus* could be substituted, and why is evident. Cic. Att. iii. 15. *Quare fac, ut——perscribas, meque, ut facis, velis esse aliquem, quoniam qui fui et qui esse potui, jam esse non possum.* Epp. vi. 18. *Qui* (liber meus) *si est talis, qualem tibi videri scribis, ego aliquid sum. Unus quisque* refers only to number; *unus aliquis* to quality also. Cic. Off. ii. 12. Or. iii. 33.

Hence the meaning of *in aliquas terras*, Cic. Cat. i. 8, is evident, '*in any land whatever, of whatever nature it may be*.' So also *aliquo proficisci.* Ter. Andr. ii. 2, 29. *profugere.* Id. Ad. iii. 3, 1.

OBS. *Aliquantum* always means, not merely some, but a *fairish quantity*, as is evident from the examples quoted by Scheller.

EXCURSUS X.

On the use of the Imperfect Subjunctive, instead of the Plusquam Perfect Subjunctive, in Conditional Clauses.

We often find, in the best Roman writers, sentences in which, after the conjunction *si*, an imperfect subjunctive seems to be used instead of the pluperfect, or, more properly speaking, instead of the *Conditionale præteriti*, where the proposition belongs to a past time, and another *Condit. præteriti* refers to it. Of such sentences the following, among others, are examples; Cic. Arch. poet. 7. (C. Lælius, L. Furius, M. Cato): *Qui profecto, si nihil ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem literis adjuvarentur, nunquam se ad earum studium contulissent.*—Mil. 17. *Quem diem——nisi ad cogitatum facinus properaret, nunquam reliquisset.*—c. 23. *Cui nunquam se hic profecto tradidisset, nisi causæ suæ confideret.* Further: Cic. Brut. 67. Tusc. i. 12. Or. ii. 55. Verr. v. 51, and innumerable passages in Livy, Tacitus, Cæsar, Suetonius, Florus, and others. From the great number of such passages one may conclude, *a priori*, that they are not deviations from a rule, to be referred to the figure of grammar called enallage, but that this construction depends upon a peculiarity of the Latin language. The whole turns upon this, that the Roman can use his imperfect subjunctive in a twofold manner; either in its primitive sense, as indicating the relative duration of an action in time past, or as a Conditionale præsentis, while in our [the German] language that tense has only the latter use. Now, in the foregoing examples the imperfect is to be considered not as a Conditionale præsentis, but as a Tempus præteriti, and therefore stands in conditional sentences always where not a *finished moment* of time, but an *unfinished duration* of time is to be indicated. Applying this principle to the examples above quoted, we shall find, that not momentary acts, but continued states, are indicated in the words *adjuvarentur*, *properaret*, and *confideret*[1].

[The rest of the Excursus is omitted, because what is asserted in it of the German language, does not hold good of the English.]

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[1] Similar passages are:—Sall. Cat. 39, 4. Nep. Milt. 7, 5. Cic. Or. i. 39, 180. Liv. ix. 19. adde, *quod——esset.* Tac. Agr. 6. *quamquam——redemturus esset*, and other passages.

EXCURSUS XI.

Some observations on the use of *homo* and *vir*.

The word *homo* is much more frequently used than *vir*, even when one is speaking only of male persons. The latter is only employed where it is meant especially to render prominent the notion of the *male sex*, or of some *manly* quality. Therefore we say, *illustres homines*.—Cic. Acad. iv. 14. *magni homines*.—Quinct. xii. 4. *in domo clarissimi hominis*.—Cic. Off. i. 32. *homo pereruditus*.—Att. iv. 15. *omnium temporum prudentissimi homines; Socrates, homo sapientissimus*;—and so forth. Whereas *vir* is, in some measure, a title of honour, and involves the notion of manly worth. Soldiers are always designated and addressed as *viri*. In predicates annexed to the names of persons, as declarations of esteem, the term *vir* is used; for example: *L. Flaccum et C. Pomtinum, prætores, fortissimos atque amantissimos reipublicæ viros*.—Cic. Cat. iii. § 5. *C. Marius, vir clarissimus*. When one, however, wishes to denote a *personal quality*, the term *homo* is mostly used; for example: Arch. poet. 7. *C. Lælium, L. Furium, moderatissimos homines et continentissimos*. Immediately afterwards *fortissimum virum* is applied to Cato, because *fortitudo* is more the characteristic of the male sex than of human beings in general. In short, where the notion of *man*, in an *intellectual* or *moral sense*, is considered as predominating, *homo* is used; where, on the other hand, the notion of *personal qualities belonging to the male sex* predominates, *vir*. Hence also '*one another*' is not rendered *homo hominem*, but *vir virum*, when *men* (i. e. individuals of the male sex) are spoken of. *Viri* instead of *homines (people, folks)*, without reference to sex, occurs only in the poets; for example, Ovid. Met. i. 186.

It remains to mark the use of *homo*, instead of the demonstrative pronoun *is*, where sometimes our word *man*, in a good sense, and sometimes *man* (contemptuously) or *fellow* would be employed; for example: *Do you know the man (him)?—Nosti hominem?* So Cic. Epp. i. 2. *Ita sum cum illo loquutus, ut mihi viderer animum hominis* (Pompeii) *ab omni aliâ cogitatione ad tuam dignitatem tuendam traducere*.—iii. 1. *Valde hominem diligo*. Yet oftener is it used with contempt: Cic. Verr. *Nosti os hominis*.—Ter. Eun. ii. 2, 30. *Ibi homo cœpit me obsecrare*. Especially in the following construction: Ter. Eun. v. 1, 17. *Quid illic hominis est?*—Plaut. Amph. ii. 1, 16. *Quid hoc hominis sit?*

EXCURSUS XII.

On *nunc* and *tunc*.

It must be familiar to every one acquainted with the Latin language, and therefore needs no demonstration here, that *nunc*, as a particle of time, means only the *actual present*, that is, the time of writing or thinking; whereas *tunc* refers to a *relative present*, or that which *was* present in time past; exactly in the same manner as *hoc tempore* is distinguished from *eo tempore*; *hic* from *illic*; *hinc* from *illinc*; and *huc* from *illuc*. It is only when *nunc* is repeated, and translated by *now—now*, that it too refers to the past; for example, Liv. ii. 40. *Exsecrantes nunc imperatorem, nunc operam.*—iii. 12. *Nunc fraudem, nunc negligentiam accusabant.* A doubt may, however, arise, which particle should be used in the *oratio obliqua*; whether one should retain the *nunc* of the *oratio recta*, or change it into *tunc*. *Nunc* is undoubtedly usually adopted in such passages; for example, Liv. xxii. 22. *Metum continuisse dixit ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Iberum castra Romana abesse.*—Nep. Timol. 3. *Dixit, nunc demum se voti esse damnatum.* Yet *tunc* also is found; Ter. Hec. i. sc. 2. *Me seducit foras, narratque, ut virgo ab se integra etiam tunc siet.* Especially where *nunc* would be equivocal: Tac. A. iii. 61. 2. *Ephesii memorarunt, esse apud se Cenchrium amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi Latonam partu gravidam, et oleæ, quæ tunc etiam maneat, adnisam, edidisse ea numina.* So in Cic. Cat. i. 4. *Dixisti paullulum tibi esse etiam tunc moræ, quod ego viverem,* in the vulgar text, which reading Ernesti with justice defends, as only one copy has *nunc*; though the examples to which he appeals, are not to the purpose.

EXCURSUS XIII.

On *certus* and *quidam* (a certain person, 'a'); *quidam, nonnulli, aliqui, some* persons.

Quidam, like *quispiam*, supplies the place of the indefinite article; yet so as to designate *one* individual of a collection, considered alone, without however defining that individual more exactly in any respect, a more exact definition being unnecessary. Whereas *quispiam* does not designate any *one* person in particular, but gives one to understand, that *any* individual of the class mentioned may be thought of at pleasure. Therefore when one says, *Philosophus*

quispiam dixit mihi, one means, *a* philosopher, *as such*, without having any particular philosopher in one's head; whereas, *Philosophus quidam dixit mihi*, would necessarily convey the notion of *some particular* philosopher, considered apart from all others; but whom, from some reason or other, one forbears to name.—Moreover, *certus* is also distinguished from *quidam*. For though *quidam* designates an individual thought of, it further implies, that it is of no consequence to the reader or hearer to know the name of the individual, and that this knowledge has nothing to do with what is asserted. But when *certus* is used, it is implied that it is by no means unimportant what individual is meant, and one wishes it to be clearly understood, that one knows the individual well enough, but has one's reasons for not mentioning his name; whether because the reader may already guess it, or for fear of being more explicit; for example, Cic. Marc. 6. *Quoties ego eum et quanto cum dolore vidi insolentiam certorum hominum——extimescentem.* Here the *partisans of Pompey* are meant, and the speaker would have them thought of by his hearers; had he employed *quorundam*, he might have had particular persons in his head, but it must then have been indifferent to his hearers who the persons meant were. Hence, when Cicero says of Lysias: *Habet enim certos sui studiosos, qui non tam habitus corporis opimos, quam gracilitates consectentur*, (Brut. 16.)—he has certain persons in his head, whom he leaves Brutus to guess. 'For *certain* reasons' may be rendered *certis de causis*, and *quibusdam de causis;* but, in the first case, *particular* reasons are thought of, and it is considered that it may be interesting to the reader to know them; in the last case, particular reasons are equally thought of, but what these may be, is considered as of no importance to the reader; for example, Cic. Cat. i. 2. *Verum ego hoc, quod jampridem factum esse oportuit, certâ de causâ, nondum adducor, ut faciam.* In the same manner *certo die* is used (c. 3.), which day Cicero immediately afterwards names, because his knowing on *what particular* day Manlius would be under arms, was an important fact.

As *quidam* is used in the singular, for the indefinite article (designating however, at the same time, an *individual* part of a species), so has it also the same use in the plural, where it is often translated by *some*. It does not, by any means, involve the notion of *number* or *quantity;* for example, *Dicunt philosophi quidam:* here *quidam* has just the same meaning that quidam, *singular*, has in the passage above quoted. If *number* is to be designated, then *nonnulli* is used, and in the singular, *non nemo*, in the sense of '*many a one.*' Hence *nonnullos tibi libros misi*, is not exactly equivalent to *quosdam tibi libros misi*, though both may be translated '*some* books.'—Distinguished from both words in its use is *aliquis*, in the plural *aliqui*, '*some.*' Inasmuch as *aliquis*, without an accent on the *ali*, is equivalent to *quispiam*, it designates in the plural merely the indefinite article, and *mitte mihi libros aliquos*, is, "*send me some books.*" But as *aliquis*, with the accent on the *ali*, refers in the singular to quality, so in the plural it refers to quantity, yet so as to convey the notion of an '*at least;*' for example, as one says, *Spem non magnam quidem suscepi, sed tamen*

aliquam: so also, *Non multos quidem tibi libros misi, sed tamen aliquos; nec nullos,* would, by virtue of its double negation, convey the same meaning.

OBS. In the corresponding Latin phrase to '*some* twenty,' '*some* forty,' &c., *aliqui* is constantly used; for example: *Aliquos viginti dies.* Plaut. Men. v. 5, 47.—*Quadringentos aliquos milites.* Cat. in Orig. ap. Non. c. 2. n. 909. Yet here *aliqui* means only '*about,*' as is plain from its being used even with *units;* for example: *Tres aliqui aut quatuor.* Cic. Fin. ii. 19.—*Aliqua quinque folia.* Cato R. R. 156.—The phrase is, however, of rare occurrence.

EXCURSUS XIV.

On *magis* and *plus.*

WITH respect to meaning, the distinction between these two words is, that *magis* refers to quality, *plus* to quantity; with respect to form, that *magis* is an adverb, *plus* an adjective, which, like other adjectives in the neuter, is mostly used substantively, sometimes adverbially. As a substantive it is sometimes used independently, as *plus proficere, plus valere;* sometimes governs the genitive of another substantive, as *plus frumenti.* Yet, even as a substantive, it retains the government of a comparative; as *plus æquo,* 'more than right.' Cic. Amic. 16.—*dimidio plus.* Attic. ix. 11.—*nimio plus.* Liv. i. 2.—*tanto plus.* Cic. Verr. v. 50. 54. 97. vii. 28.—*tanto pluris æstimare.* Liv. xxxix. 44. As an adverb, it is frequently found in construction with *amo* and *diligo.* Ter. Eun. i. 2, 16. *Quo quemquam plus amem aut plus diligam.* So in many passages of Cicero; for example, Leg. ii. 2. In the same way we say, *multum* and *plurimum diligere aliquem.* This is in conformity with the Greek use of the neuter for the adverb. In such passages *plus* may be said to be used for *magis.* So also Cic. N. D. i. 26. *Epicurus Xenocratem audisse non vult, credo plus nemini.*—Plin. H. N. xvii. 18. *Qua locus ferax non erit, id plus concidito.*—Cic. Epp. x. 19. *Non multo plus patriæ faveo, quam tuæ gloriæ.* Conversely, however, *magis* can never stand for *plus,* where the verb requires an object.—*Plus* stands independently, like *amplius,* where *quam* is mostly omitted in stating a number, the number not being put in the ablative, but in the case required by the construction. Liv. xlii. 55. *Nec enim plus decem millia hominum.*—Liv. viii. 4. *Quis dubitat exarsisse Romanos, quum plus ducentorum annorum morem solveremus?* The insertion of *quam* is not so frequent; Liv. viii. 25. *Non plus quam trecenti erant equites Romani in castris.* In this case, also, *magis* cannot stand for *plus;* for the well-known passage, Cic. Rosc. Am. 14. *Annos natus magis quadraginta,* seems to have been hitherto misunderstood by all

interpreters. If *magis* is the right reading, which it probably is, it stands for *potius*, "*rather.*" *Magis* is often found in nearly, if not exactly the same sense; for example, Rosc. Am. 6. *Roscius erat Romæ——magis ut exultare victoriâ nobilitatis videretur, quam ut . . .*—Cluent. 32. *Hic ego magis ut consuetudinem servem, quam quod vos non vestrâ sponte hoc faciatis, petam a vobis, ut . . .*—Or. ii. 4. *Magis adeo id felicitate, quam aliâ ullâ culpâ meâ contigit.* —Att. xvi. 5. *Etsi magis est, quod gratuler tibi, quam quod te rogem; tamen etiam rogo.* So, not unfrequently, Liv. ii. 1. v. 23. ii. 13. xiv. 10.

To render the distinction between *magis* and *plus* more palpable to a beginner, let him observe this rule:—If *valde* would be used, if the positive were required, use *magis;* if *multum*, use *plus;* or, in other words, *magis* means, 'in a higher degree,' *plus* denotes 'a greater number.'

EXCURSUS XV.

On *futurus* and *fui.*

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that *futurus* is to be considered as the pure passive of *facturus*, and is always so used, and is also so considered in several grammars; for example, Cic. Rosc. Am. 5. *Omnes hanc quæstionem ——haud remissius sperant futuram*, where it is astonishing that Garatoni could stumble at the adverb *remissius*, and propose *remissiorem*, as a better reading. Weiske also thought the passage could not be vindicated, except by explaining *haud remissius* by *assidue*, which, in this passage, is not the meaning. Still less does it seem to have been hitherto remarked, that *fui* also is used as the pure perfect of *fio;* that is to say, that it not merely denotes a momentary act, that has happened in time past, but also the beginning, at some past time, of a state existing at the present moment, and is to be translated, "*I have become.*" *Fio*, as well as the obsolete *fuo*, evidently sprung from the Greek φύω, φῦμι; hence the affinity of *fio, fui*, and *futurus.*—The passages on which I rest this assertion with regard to *fui*, are the following:—Sall. Cat. 20. *Ignobile vulgus fuimus;* where no other meaning is possible than "*We have been, and are so still.*"—Cic. Epp. ix. 2. *Magni autem intererit, qui fuerit victoris animus, qui exitus rerum.* Not what Cæsar's intention *shall have been* in time past, but *what it shall have become*, that is, *what it shall be.* In the same manner, Epp. 5. *Mihi si spatium fuerit in Tusculanum ante Nonas veniendi, istic te videbo.* So also Virg. Ecl. vii. 33. It cannot be maintained, that in this passage the *futur. exactum* is put for the simple future, as in such examples as, *Qui Antonium oppresserit, is bellum teterrimum confecerit.* Cic. Epp. x. 19. For since here both acts are momentary, and involved in each other, the future

absolute could not possibly be used, for this tense denotes something that is not to begin to happen till some future time. Where tenses are interchangeable, the substituted tense still retains its proper meaning. An enallage of tenses, in which the meaning of one tense is really transferred to another, can only be dreamt of by one who has taken a superficial view of the subject, and attempts to derive principles from appearances insufficiently examined.

EXCURSUS XVI.

On the translation of *that, those,* when they represent a Substantive already expressed in the sentence.

a. As a general rule the *that* or *those* is not to be translated by a pronoun, except where it is *strongly demonstrative* (= *this one here; this*) when it is to be translated by *hic*. *Nullam enim virtus aliam mercedem laborum, periculorumque desiderat, præter hanc laudis et gloriæ.* (Cic. *pro Arch. poetâ.*)

β. The pronoun is entirely omitted after *conjunctions,* but not after *prepositions:* e. g. *patriæ causam malo quam privati sustinere.*

γ. After prepositions either (1.) the substantive must be repeated (*quum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt.* Cæs. B. G. i. 1.); or, (2.) another substantive of like meaning be substituted for it; or, (3.) the substantive must be placed with the last genitive, which can only be done when both the genitives stand together in the same proposition (*maluit in Galliæ quam in Italiæ agris bellum gerere*), so that the substantive may be supposed repeated in the same case. Departures from this rule are, probably, not to be found, except in the poets and later prose-writers.

[Obs. An adjective agreeing with one substantive will render it unnecessary to repeat it, even when it would be in a different case: e. g. "I compare *my* old age to *that* of a strong horse:" *senectuti* would here be expressed, and *senectutem* omitted with *meam*, the reference being obvious.]

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[a] "When *debere* appears to be equivalent to *necesse est*, being used to express a necessary consequence, this identity of meaning is only apparent. *Debere* always means that this ought to be expected;—that it would be wrong if it were otherwise. Thus *Quis hoc homine scientior fuit, aut esse debuit?* i. e. It would be a *reproach* to Pompey, if he were not a most able commander.—The notion of *duty* or *obligation* always lies at the bottom of *debere*; and wherever even a remote notion of this kind is inadmissible, *debere* cannot be used with propriety for *necesse est*."

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[a] "The direction in vii. 4, 13. is, however, incorrect; for since *libera hominum ingenia* is not the notion that has the closest connection with the preceding sentence, no particular emphasis rests upon it [and it is, therefore, *not* the proper notion to be placed first], whilst its position as an accusative, at the head of the clause, where a nominative would rather be expected, makes the sentence somewhat obscure. These limitations should be added to the rule, and the sentence translated thus : *quum isti——diutius sub jugo tenere libera hominum judicia non possent, hi——subornati erant ut in pravas vias ea deducerent.*" *Grotefend.*

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